Daily Report

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Presidium Begins INF Ratification Discussion

PM261435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has begun the discussion of the ratification of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed during the Washington summit on 8 December 1987.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution the ratification of international treaties is the responsibility of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Presidium examines the USSR's international treaties presented by the USSR Council of Ministers for ratification and adopts the appropriate decisions. In the most important cases the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium instructs the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities to examine in advance USSR international treaties presented for ratification and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

On 25 January 1988 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a resolution on the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles which has been presented by the USSR Council of Ministers for ratification.

The resolution notes that thanks to the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries with active support from other peace-loving forces and as a result of intensive dialogue between the leaders of the USSR and the United States, including three Soviet-U.S. summits, and of strenuous diplomatic talks, mankind has now reached the watershed between the growth of the nuclear threat and the demilitarization of our planet.

The USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Reagan of the United States on 8 December 1987 should mark the practical beginning of the building of a world without nuclear weapons. The real destruction—for the first time in history—of two classes of nuclear missiles belonging to the USSR and the United States in conditions of strict verification measures will serve the interests of all the peoples and raise the level of security on a global scale.

Guided by an awareness of the high level of responsibility toward the world, which expects these and subsequent steps on the path to disarmament, the resolution notes, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will examine with the utmost attention the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles presented by the USSR Council of Ministers for ratification.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to pass the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed in Washington on 8 December 1987 and presented by the USSR Council of Ministers for ratification, to the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities to examine in advance all aspects of the treaty and the related documents in the light of the comments expressed on it, including expert analysis and the opinions of the Soviet public, and to draw up the corresponding conclusions.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will then comprehensively examine the question of the ratification of the treaty in the light of the commissions' conclusions at a session on a date to be fixed.

U.S. Suspicions of USSR Laser Activity

LD261525 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—It is a standard method of the Washington administration: In order to justify the build up of its military preparations, it resorts to outright misinformation, advances groundless accusations against the USSR, launches another falsehood about the "Soviet military menace". When even the distortion of reality cannot bear up such a myth, the masterminds of U.S. politics pledge a so-called "leakage of information" and try to explain the lack of proofs by alleging that they do exist but are "highly secret". The administration chose the UPI news agency as a channel for another such "leakage". UPI correspondent Richard Sale wrote the other day that the U.S. intelligence services are convinced that Soviet lasers put out of action complex equipment of U.S. intelligence satellites that have the purpose of monitoring launchings of Soviet missiles. According to Richard Sale, the UPI learnt from informed sources about the concerns of the U.S. Administration that other U.S. intelligence satellites will soon come under threat in connection with the deployment of six new USSR combat laser stations.

According Richard Sale, the USSR constantly "blinds" U.S. spy satellites and puts into orbit "killer" satellites whose purpose is to destroy U.S. space facilities. Sale's explanation for the fact that not one of the U.S. space facilities has yet been destroyed is simple: the "killer" satellites wait for the start of a space war between the superpowers. In short, the author tries to prove that a veritable war is waged in near earth space: The United States launches satellites and the Soviet Union "blinds" them or else even tries to "destroy" them. To prove these fables, Sale cites the following words of an anonymous "expert": there are proofs of what takes place in outer space but they are very difficult to get.

It is absolutely obvious that accusations against the USSR advanced in the UPI "report" need not be denied as they are absolutely groundless. The USSR declared

more than once that prevention of the spread of the arms race to space has been and remains the purpose of the Soviet policy. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized at a press conference on December 10 in Washington: "We are strongly against SDI and we shall not be creating it ourselves". It is easy to explain the reason why the UPI resorted to this misinformation precisely now that the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms resumed in Geneva. Its purpose is to justify the speeding up of work under the Reagan programme of "Star Wars".

Bogachev Comments on NATO Plans for Rearmament
LD252148 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—By TASS Military Writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Reports in the Western press say that a number of leaders of NATO countries now insist on a "pause" in the process of arms control. They demand the slowing down of the pace of the Geneva talks, a "respite" after the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Deplorably, the point of the matter is not that those NATO leaders got tired out by the effort to achieve arms reduction and wish to have a breather after intensive talks so as then to resume the effort at disarmament with increased vigour.

They want the "respite" to give time to the North Atlantic alliance to deploy in Europe twice as many nuclear warheads as will be eliminated under the INF Treaty. The openly proclaimed purpose of that plan is to replace the land-based intermediate-and shorter-range missiles that are to be destroyed, with other nuclear armaments, no less dangerous and destabilising.

It is intended to deploy by mid-nineties in Western Europe 1,300 air-based cruise missiles which will enable NATO to hit the same targets in Eastern Europe on which the U.S. "Pershing-2" missiles were trained. To deploy 500 land-based ballistic missiles with a range of up to 600 km, and other nuclear weapon systems.

British and French officials declare that the programme for "compensatory build up" of NATO nuclear armaments is aimed against the plans of the Russians who want to "seduce Western Germans and make them quit NATO". The old fables about the driving of wedges between West European allies are repeated. Meanwhile Paris and London make no secret of the fact that in this case they are concerned not over the problems of European security but over the "menace" to their nuclear ambitions as a result of the continued disarmament process.

It should be noted that a number of representatives of the United States, the country that signed the INF Treaty, declare for the "modernisation" of NATO nuclear armaments in Europe. The United States believes it has a right to modernise nuclear weapon systems to which the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles does not apply, assistant to the President for press relations Marlin Fitzwater said in Washington. Commander of the NATO forces American General John Galvin also declared for the "compensation" for nuclear armaments in Europe to be destroyed under the treaty.

Such pronouncements by U.S. officials attest to their distorted logic. They want to act contrary to a wise English saying that one cannot "eat one's cake and have it". The replacement of the systems of nuclear armaments with other ones, more numerous and no less dangerous, is not disarmament. It is a mockery of nuclear arms reduction.

Unless NATO nuclear arming in answer to the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is prevented, this can lead to a new spiral in the arms race, can undermine the nascent positive process in Soviet-American relations.

Pact, NATO Hold Meeting on Future Arms Talks
LD251758 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Member nations of the Warsaw treaty organization and NATO have resumed consultations in Vienna with the aim of working out a mandate of future talks on armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The Warsaw treaty organization comes out for starting these talks as soon as this year.

NATO, Pact Approaches to Missile Talks
LD251338 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 25 Jan 88

[From the "International Dairy" program, presented by Gennadiy Vedenyapin; with commentary by Vladimir Pasko]

[Text] [Pasko] Evidently, some people in NATO are unhappy that U.S. missiles capable of striking Soviet territory are to be destroyed, while the Soviet missiles to be eliminated cannot reach U.S. territory. Justifying the idea of compensation, it is being asserted in NATO countries that the removal of the U.S. Pershings and cruise missiles from Europe gives Soviet superiority in conventional and chemical weapons.

The question of assymetry and imbalance between NATO and Warsaw treaty forces has indeed become more urgent and acute; but it has become so for both sides. It is worth remembering that the assymetries have arisen primarily because the United States some time ago surrounded the Soviet Union with their military

bases, stationing forward-based forces on them. We have not set up any Soviet military bases around the United States. We could only respond to a U.S. threat by developing missile technology capable of striking from our own territory.

It is clear that progress toward reducing strategic offensive weapons will automatically exacerbate the problem of U.S. forward-based systems and of British and French nuclear forces. This is where imbalances really exist. NATO strategists intend to compensate for the reduction of some weapons by a buildup of others. The British newspaper OBSERVER, quoting a report by the British-U.S. Security Council, has just reported that in the mid-nineties, NATO arsenals will acquire 1,300 air-based cruise missiles, 600 ballistic and cruise missiles—land-based—and 400 nuclear artillery shells. All this is a new arms system under development. Although, as the paper notes, its deployment will not formally infringe on the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles treaty, in practice it will potentially enable NATO to hit the targets at which the Pershings and cruise missiles now to be destroyed are aimed. The same paper notes that the total number of future warheads will be two or three times that of the warheads now being eliminated.

What lies behind NATO's talk on compensation is an effort to obtain military superiority. The United States has admitted, by the way, that reducing the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will not alter the correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Against this background, the designs of those seeking the upgrading of armaments particularly stand out. It is perfectly obvious that we cannot and will not permit the balance to be uspet and the correlation of forces altered in NATO's favor.

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states are persistently proposing to the West that the problem of assymetry in various types of military whatever one or other of the sides has more of. we advocate a military equilibrium on a lower level; the West rejects this. The talks that are being held as part of the Vienna meeting have so far achieved nothing. They have achieved nothing precisely because they have refused to meet us halfway. But this line leads nowhere. NATO's attempts to build up its forces under the pretext of compensation can only provoke a new spiral of the arms race.

Resumption of Vienna CSCE Talks Reported
LD221309 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Vienna January 22 TASS—TASS Correspondent Anatoliy Tyupayev reports:

The meeting of representatives of states participating in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe resumed its deliberations here today. Speakers at the plenary meeting pointed out that the positive processes which shaped up in the international situation especially after the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, create favourable conditions for a successful completion of the Vienna forum. In this context it is pointed out in quarters of the Vienna meeting that increased dynamism, flexibility of the Soviet foreign policy, processes of democratization and openness impart a new impetus to European cooperation in the political, military, economic and humanitarian spheres.

The Soviet delegation called on forum participants to make constructive joint actions so as to complete the Vienna meeting with impressive results in the near future. It was pointed out that there was a real possibility to accelerate drafting a mandate at consultations of 23 Warsaw treaty and NATO countries, which are in progress in Vienna, and to get down even this year, to talks on cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Petrovskiy on Balance of Interests
AU242050 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 87 pp 1,6

[Interview with Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, by RUDE PRAVO editors Miroslav Courton and Milan Jelinek: "Balance of Interests; RUDE PRAVO Interviews V. Petrovskiy, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the Topical Issues of International Politics"—date not given]

[Text] Prague (From our editors)—Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, is currently visiting Czechoslovakia. On this occasion he granted an interview to our RUDE PRAVO editors.

[Editors] Many political observers in the world are searching for the reasons of the striking shift in Soviet-U.S. talks, and pondering which of the two sides has made the greatest concessions.

[Petrovskiy] This is a new stage in Soviet foreign policy. We also have a new psychological atmosphere in Soviet-U.S. relations. The Soviet Union and the United States are part of the world system of inter-state relations. Striking changes are now taking place. The states of the international community have grown tired of confrontations. They want to turn the course toward a confrontation in the direction of cooperation and understanding.

The Soviet Union has invited the international forums to consider the idea of a new concept of political thinking and is now pushing it through. We are offering the states the idea of general cooperation, which ensures security by political, not military, means. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly essential that the states proceed in their mutual relations in this spirit of new political thinking. I regard it as a striking criterion of the general shift in the political thinking of government and state representatives.

The socialist states are acting today as the bearers of all-human interests. They have raised the banner of the struggle for resolving global problems, and this has also led to a change in the features of their international relations. But the main thing is that this idea has fallen on fertile soil, and has made a turn in international relations possible. Many people in the world are asking who has made more concessions to whom. This, however, is the old way of thinking. In "old" diplomacy, one side's gain inevitably meant the other side's loss.

This is a classical mathematical approach to problems and to international relations. The new international thinking can be said to take "higher mathematics" for granted. It calculates with the balance of interests, instead of the balance of figures. We have now achieved, perhaps for the very first time, a balance of interests in the first Soviet-U.S. agreement. We have eliminated two classes of nuclear weapons. And the result? Both the United States and the Soviet Union find themselves in the same situation. They are faced by the prospect of a further process of nuclear disarmament. In this way the gain lies on the side of the United States, and of the Soviet Union. If we regard this from the viewpoint of "higher mathematics," the gain belongs to the entire international community. One of the most serious all-human problems—the disarmament problem—is being resolved.

The solution of this problem is also a prerequisite to resolving other serious problems which are causing concern to the international public, such as the problem of human personality, the problem of hunger and diseases, and other problems...

[Editors] You speak of the balance of interests, whereas the West is speaking of the spheres of interest...

[Petrovskiy] The division of the world into spheres of interests is a purely imperialist approach to the matter, it is geopolitics [geopolitika]. One zone belongs to one empire, another zone to another empire, and so forth. The balance of interests involves something quite different. It is concerned with both national and state interests, on which the all-human interests are superimposed. The paramount interest is mankind's survival. This means that the interests of one state are vitally linked with the interests of all mankind, and can be resolved solely on a broad global scale which takes into account the interests of all countries—and not merely two, or three, or five countries.

[Editors] Why did the Soviet Union not strive to enforce much sooner the ideas which you are voicing today?

[Petrovskiy] We communists know that quantity is changing into quality. Today we have qualitative leaps. Ideas are not born out of nothing, they do not emerge on a barren island. Restructuring, and the development of the socialist society, have made it essential to view the existing world situation in a new way, to grasp its antagonisms.

Above all, it is essential to grasp that the world is an entity, while at the same time all its parts remain interdependent. This has made it possible to approach the solution of international problems in a new way. In other words, today we regard things from the viewpoint of the whole world. We see our class task in the defense of the interests of all mankind. This is the humanitarian mission of the workers' class. This new realization of the world's interdependence has made it possible to come forward with a new, principled approach. I believe that we have here a qualitatively new diplomatic methodology, the methodology of the balance of interests.

[Editors] Thus you are actually thinking not only of the danger of a nuclear bomb, but also of two other dangers—the ecological and economic dangers which are threatening mankind's very existence?

[Petrovskiy] Exactly. I believe that this is a most serious issue. Formerly there was a tendency to narrow down all global problems to the nuclear threat alone. But now, in an interdependent world, one must also realize the danger of an ecological infarct of mankind, which is now in a "pre-infarct stage." However, the measures which would resolve economic problems are also most urgent. For instance, let us regard the issue of foreign debts, which does not concern merely a group of countries, but is a threat to the whole world. It is also related to human rights and other humanitarian affairs which require a global solution. This new approach makes it possible to act in parallel in all global directions, since progress in one sphere also depends on progress in another sphere. It is a matter of everything moving in the same direction, which leads toward mankind's survival.

[Editors] Even after the conclusion of the first Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons, a number of Western nuclear devices (with a capacity of intermediary-range weapons) continue to remain in Europe. Will these devices be included in the further U.S.-USSR talks?

[Petrovskiy] The land-launched intermediate-range weapons are being eliminated as a class. The current talks are about American sea-launched intermediate-range missiles. We are insisting that this problem must be solved. We regard the cruise missiles deployed on warships as strategic weapons. They are part of the current strategic arms talks. We regard these arms as an important part of talks with the United States on the possibility of cutting down the strategic arms arsenal by 50%. We consider it most important to resolve this issue within the framework of the agreement on the strategic arms reduction. I can tell you that an agreement on this exists in principle between the United States and the USSR.

Nevertheless, another important issue crops up in this context—that of the navy; and this problem is causing us grave concern [velice nas znepokojuje]. To this very day it has not become a topic of negotiations. The United States is striving to evade this circle of problems by every possible means.

Our proposals are well known, they were recently presented by Comrade Ryzhkov. Our proposal is to immediately open consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

[Editors] Should these consultations and negotiations, which concern the interests of European states, be attended only by Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, or by other states too?

[Petrovskiy] With regard to negotiations on conventional weapons, we are proposing negotiations. The talks on this topic have been going on for some time. Now the first signs of a solution are beginning to appear. In our view, these talks on the reduction of conventional armaments and ground forces must be closely bound to the all-European process, in which all European states (including nonaligned and neutral countries) should participate. In principle there already exists an agreement that the talks should be held simultaneously, in the same place, and in the same city.

[Editors] Whereas Mikhail Gorbachev is speaking of asymmetry in connection with conventional weapons, the West is speaking of the supremacy of Warsaw Pact countries...

[Petrovskiy] We say that asymmetry does exist. What does this mean? There is an imbalance, a certain asymmetry in the individual kinds of weapons or weapon systems—this is simply how things developed, also historically. We are proposing a just solution of this issue, by having the military representatives of both blocs meet, assess the existing imbalance and asymmetry, and start eliminating, start removing it, not by having the side with a smaller number of weapons add to them so as to reach the level of the other side, but by reducing this number. In other words, all conventional weapons should be reduced to a lower level. In this way we will eliminate imbalance and asymmetry. This is our principled stand on this issue—a stand which is most serious and which it is essential to consider.

I believe that it would not be right to link these problems together. Regrettably, the West is pushing this. The experience won during the preceding talks has shown us that the policy of linking issues is as obsolete as the policy of dividing into spheres of interest. This view belongs to the old way of thinking. One must proceed in parallel, in all directions simultaneously; but here, in the issue of conventional weapons, one must start acting immediately. Surely we have not signed the treaty in Washington in order to start a new armament round in the sphere of conventional weapons. We aim to cut down the level of conventional weapons to that of sensible sufficiency [rozumna dostatecnost]. We want to negotiate without any preliminary conditions or prejudices.

[Editors] You have mentioned sensible sufficiency. What are your views on this "sufficiency" in the sphere of nuclear weapons?

[Petrovskiy] Naturally, the views on the contents of sensible sufficiency differ. Our scientists (for instance the group headed by Academician Sagdeyev) have prepared a study on this topic, which proves that defense is sufficiently ensured by 5% of the present arsenal of nuclear weapons. For my part I think that one should get totally rid of all nuclear weapons, and eliminate these weapons as soon as possible. In the present world, the policy of nuclear containment is losing all sense. It is not only losing all sense, it is suicidal. Instead of nuclear containment, one must shift over to a nuclear-free world, based on the operation of international mechanisms and international law.

[Editors] The West is claiming that nuclear weapons have been protecting peace in Europe for 40 years.

[Petrovskiy] Certainly, there is distrust between us. A picture of the enemy has been created in the West—that of the socialist states. For some people in the West, the picture of the enemy is probably necessary—from their viewpoint. The question is, how can this picture of the enemy be overcome? It is no easy matter to overcome it, it is a vestige of the past; it can be overcome only by practical deeds. Today, in the times of openness and a flow of information to the public, we are striving to solve this question by political means, at the roundtable. We apply a new approach to international affairs, one based on the principles of new thinking, and new thinking means getting rid of old thinking. After all, the Warsaw Pact states have come out with the proposal to resolve the issue of conventional weapons "from the Atlantic to the Urals." This proposal continues to be valid, it can be seriously discussed, one can proceed from it in the talks.

Pugwash Chemical Weapons Group Talks End

LD242106 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Geneva January 24 TASS—The 13th meeting of the Pugwash working group on chemical weapons ended its deliberations in Geneva today. Its participants examined issues on the state of affairs with drafting an international convention to ban these mass destruction weapons.

Most participants centred on problems pertaining to prevention of production of chemical weapons at civil industrial enterprises. They pointed to the need for establishing a system of strict and efficient control over those sectors of the chemical industry which can be used for secret production or development of chemical weapons.

USSR Envoy on Detente, Afghanistan Problem

AU251622 Vienna NEUE AZ in German
23 Jan 88 p 7

[APA report on lecture given by Soviet Ambassador Gennadiy Shikin at the Danube-European Institute in Vienna on 21 January]

[Text] Gennadiy Shikin, Soviet ambassador to Vienna, expressed optimism about the future prospects of detente. In a lecture Shikin discussed the international situation after the third summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

At this summit the first steps were taken toward implementing the plan put forth by Gorbachev 2 years ago and aimed at a step-by-step elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. This plan, which was dismissed as "utopia" and "propaganda" in 1985, has now proved to be a trailblazer, Shikin said.

In view of armament expenditures of $930 billion in 1987 alone and of 22 wars and other armed conflict claiming 2-3 million lives in this year, the Washington summit is of particular importance, not only for bilateral relations but also for worldwide detente, the ambassador stressed.

It is nobody's "triumph" that the USSR will destroy more warheads than the United States but it is simply due to certain "asymmetries" which have developed on the basis of history. These asymmetries cannot be eliminated by counterarmament, but only by establishing a balance on the lowest level that is militarily acceptable. Shikin said that reports according to which the USSR is not willing to negotiate the reduction of conventional armed forces are false.

Shikin explained that for centuries the military doctrines of all states were concentrated on victory in case of war. Today it is known that conflicts can only be solved by political means. No one can win a nuclear war, but also a conflict with conventional weapons harbors unpredictable dangers for mankind.

Concerning Afghanistan, the ambassador said, it is "clear that the Soviet Union has to get out." It will withdraw its troops as soon as there is the guarantee that the armed opposition will no longer be supported. The political decision to withdraw the troops, which has already been made, will be implemented within 12 months. The goal is a free, nonaligned Afghanistan. Corresponding negotiations by UN Envoy Diego Cordovez are on the "home stretch," Shikin stated.

Staff Officer Interviewed on INF, Verification

PM260939 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
26 Jan 88 p 3

["SELSKAYA ZHIZN Interview" with Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kuklev, deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by K. Mezentsev: "Taking Account of Both Sides' Interests"—first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington and the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles signed at the summit remain at the focus of world public attention. This is borne out in particular by numerous letters from our readers. They express full support for the firm peace-loving course of the CPSU and the Soviet state and contain many questions concerning the implementation of the individual provisions of the document. Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kuklev, deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, answers some SELSKAYA ZHIZN readers' questions.

[Mezentsev] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, could you first tell us something about the events leading up to the treaty. What, in your view, basically made the emergence of this unprecedented international legal document possible?

[Kuklev] I believe that the political basis for the formulation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was provided by the entire peace-loving foreign policy of our country. The statement issued by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 15 January 1986 was a concrete manifestation and logical continuation of this unswerving course and an expression of the new political thinking. It outlined a concrete plan for the phased destruction of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of the present century.

[Mezentsev] At the time there were many skeptics in the West who claimed that the plan was unrealistic and utopian. Some people even expressed doubts about the advisability of completely destroying the "means of deterrence."

[Kuklev] Such skeptics exist to this day. True, their number has diminished. However, the policy of "nuclear deterrence" has not been scrapped in the West. Nonetheless, the first step along the road to nuclear disarmament has been taken. The Soviet proposals can now be said to have become reality rather than simply a political project.

[Mezentsev] Describing the treaty signed in Washington, objective observers note that it is well balanced and strictly observes the interests of both sides.

[Kuklev] Quite true, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an agreement of compromises, a balance of interests.

First, as a result of its implementation, two classes of missiles will be eliminated. It is obvious that this will increase both sides' security, and not theirs alone. After all, the danger with which the deployment of U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons near the Soviet border was fraught is well known. These systems created the illusion in the minds of certain NATO military planners that it was possible to unleash military operations and win a so-called "limited" nuclear war, which was fraught with terrible consequences for the security of all the world's countries.

Second, we regard the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a prologue to the solution of other problems in both sides' interests—problems such as a 50% cut in strategic offensive arms within conditions of the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was adopted in 1972. This would also give a fillip to banning nuclear tests, reducing conventional arms, and destroying chemical weapons.

Third, the treaty is based on mutual concessions. Thus, while it was being drafted, an accord was reached prohibiting the conversion of ground-launched cruise missiles into sea-launched cruise missiles or conventional cruise missiles, which is what the U.S. side had been seeking. A solution was found on the U.S. nuclear warheads for the West German Pershing 1A missiles, and many verification questions were resolved on a mutually acceptable basis.

Thus, in my opinion, a balance of the sides' interests has been fully observed in the treaty.

[Mezentsev] A question that has frequently cropped up in our readers' letters is: How were the quantities of the warheads to be cut on each side under the treaty arrived at?

[Kuklev] The situation that had developed in this sphere was as follows: When in the seventies our country was forced to replace missiles which had deteriorated physically or become obsolete in the classes to which the treaty applies, the RSD-10 missile was created in our country. It can carry 3 warheads. The U.S. Pershing-2 missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles carry single warheads. Since the quantities of missiles to be destroyed are figures of a similar order, an apparent arithmetical "imbalance" results with regard to the number of warheads to be destroyed.

[Mezentsev] I must say that among a section of our readers this fact has caused certain alarm: Are we not detracting from our security by agreeing to the destruction of a greater number of warheads?

[Kuklev] As regards this I can answer as an expert: In ensuring the security of Soviet territory, not just arithmetic but other, higher types of mathematics are needed. Algebra, for instance. It is necessary, when "bearing in mind" the number of missiles and warheads on both sides in the continent of Europe, to take into consideration their unequal "weight" and different importance for the USSR and the United States. The warheads on our intermediate-range missiles, still less our shorter-range missiles, cannot reach U.S. territory. Whereas the U.S. intermediate-range missiles are capable of reaching our vitally important centers. In view of their short flight time, the difficulty of detecting them [skrytnost podkhoda], and their accuracy, these missiles are in a certain sense more dangerous than even the U.S. nuclear strategic offensive systems. So it becomes clear that the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles removes a real threat to the security of the USSR and its allies.

[Mezentsev] Unique features of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles are, on the one hand, the unprecedented depth of the exchange of information and, on the other, the tough norms for reciprocal verification and monitoring.

[Kuklev] Indeed, in order for the signing of the treaty to become possible it was necessary to put on the negotiating table the features of missiles and photographs of them, to indicate ways of relocating [peremeshcheniye] them, and so forth. Just imagine how hard it was for both sides to agree to this. Although problems and misunderstandings of a technical nature sometimes arose in this area, they were resolved and are being resolved by the joint efforts of the partners in the talks.

Needless to say, the treaty would have been impossible without strict—I would even say extremely strict—verification measures. Verification will be primarily carried out by national technical means. This apart, verification includes notification of changes to initial data and, finally, stipulates various forms of on-site inspections: at installations for the elimination of missiles, launchers, and related equipment; to monitor initial data; agreed numbers of annual inspections at all installations linked with the missiles and their launchers; and monitoring [kontrol] of the perimeter of manufacturing plants. (One enterprise for each side.) We consider these verification measures reliable and adequate. We think that the inspectors, who will actually attend the destruction of the missiles, will thus obtain exhaustive information enabling them to carry out their mission.

[Mezentsev] Missiles or missile complexes are complicated and expensive technical installations. However, by no means all parts of them have an exclusively military use.

[Kuklev] It would, of course, be wrong to destroy along with the weapons those devices which could be used in the national economy. The treaty makes provision for such possibilities. Thus, guidance apparatus accounts for a large part of a missile's cost. Its sections will be

dismantled at the stage when the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being prepared for destruction, and will go into "service" for peaceful purposes. Here is another example: Missiles are transported on powerful all-terrain vehicles. Once all launch elements have been removed and work has been carried out to make it impossible for them to be reused for this purpose, the vehicles will go into the national economy.

[Mezentsev] You have already mentioned that the reaction to the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in the West, particularly NATO circles, was ambiguous. Now the bourgeois mass media and certain warriors from this military organization's member countries are once again raising a ruckus about some kind of "overwhelming advantage" on the part of the Warsaw Pact armies in the sphere of conventional arms and are demanding some kind of compensation and arms upgrading. What can you say on that score?

[Kuklev] All these ideas are not new, and we have repeatedly answered them. With regard to the essence of the question I can say that, on the whole, approximate equality exists between the NATO armies and the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces with regard to conventional arms. But certain imbalances have arisen owing to purely historical reasons. For instance, the Warsaw Pact countries have more tanks, while NATO has an advantage in tactical strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and antitank missile complexes. There are also geographical discrepancies—one side has more forces on the southern flank, while the other has more in central Europe. Of course, this creates problems. But they should not be resolved by "arms upgrading" but, on the contrary, by eliminating the imbalances. The Soviet Union is prepared to go halfway. On behalf of our country Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reiterated this in Washington.

[Mezentsev] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, in conclusion I would like to ask a personal question. You are a soldier, yet your job is the direct opposite of what people imagine your profession to involve. Do you not sense any contradiction in that?

[Kuklev] "Doesn't your question reflect obsolete approaches?" Colonel Kuklev smiled in response. "No, of course not. Although we still associate military ranks and the military profession with weapons, by its very nature our army is the defender of socialist gains. Its main aim is the defense of the fatherland and the reduction of the military threat to our motherland. Vladimir Ilich Lenin put it very well when he said: 'We have been defenders since 1917.' Under modern conditions nuclear disarmament is synonymous with reducing the military threat to the entire planet—and that includes the socialist countries. We are proud that we are making our contribution to this lofty and noble cause."

Diplomacy Scholar Comments on INF Treaty

AU220835 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 88 p 6

[Interview with Prof Vladlen Sirotkin, lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Valentin Boyadzhiev and Stanislav Kolev, on 18 January 1988 in Sofia; first three paragraphs are paper's introduction]

[Text] How can we describe the most important trends in Soviet peace policy following the Washington summit? How will the Soviet-U.S. dialogue continue in the forthcoming years? Who is the winner and who is the loser in the regional conflicts fanned in various parts of the globe? These, and numerous other questions were submitted for debate at a "roundtable" discussion held on 18 January at the Sofia Home of Soviet Science and Culture.

Prof Dr Vladlen Sirotkin, lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Docent Sergey Khudyakov from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, participated in the discussion.

It has already become a tradition to organize such "roundtable discussions" whenever a distinguished Soviet scholar, scientist, public figure, or journalist pays a visit to our country. This time the organizers of the meeting—the Bulgarian Journalists Union, the Georgi Kirkov Society on Disseminating Scientific Knowledge, and the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society—tried to involve numerous outstanding Bulgarian experts on foreign policy questions, who participated in the discussion.

Following the meeting Professor Sirotkin was kind enough to give an interview at the request of two representatives of our daily's editorial board.

[Boyadzhiev, Kolev] Vladlen Georgiyevich, are you confident that the INF Treaty signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will be ratified after the debates of the U.S. Congress, which are scheduled to open tomorrow?

[Sirotkin] I am convinced that this treaty will be ratified, and this conviction is justified by the considerable change that has occurred in the attitude of U.S. society toward the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. In addition to this, the antiwar movement in the United States and in numerous countries of the world has become an important social factor which the White House Administration cannot fail to take into consideration. The truth eloquently expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev when he said that we are like a chain of mountaineers and we are all facing the alternative of either climbing a steep slope together or falling into the abyss together was deeply understood. Peace is the only sensible alternative today and this understanding is increasingly making headway.

[Boyadzhiev, Kolarov] If the treaty is ratified, and this is what we would all like to believe, the next goal will be the 50% elimination of strategic offensive weapons. The envisaged Soviet-U.S. summit to be held in Moscow will be devoted to this vitally important problem. Do you think that another, interim meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will be needed in the meantime?

[Sirotkin] I do not think so. The two leaders have already given precise instructions to their delegations at the Geneva negotiations and, if no agreement is reached there on the total range of questions, the Moscow meeting just will not take place. It would be deprived of all meaning if it were to involve discussions on details. Such details must be settled beforehand by the experts, namely the ambassadors at large. The mechanism of preliminary research and clarification is already well established, while the leaders of the two diplomatic services have acquired sufficient experience and have been granted wide prerogatives for preparing such a summit meeting.

[Boyadzhiev, Kolev] Can you describe the conclusions you have drawn from the Washington summit as a lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy and can you tell us how these conclusions reflect upon the present curriculum?

[Sirotkin] The main thing is that the new political thinking should become our chief "subject," for, we must admit that both in our country, and in the United States, there are still many outdated cliches in the way of thinking. This is now the major area in which we have to train our future diplomats—namely, the contemporary approaches in building international relations. In our country we are now thoroughly analyzing the documents of the Washington summit, because this was an event of exceptional importance which, in my opinion, represents a considerable contribution to Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Soviet, Foreign Journalists Discuss Human Rights
LD252035 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1250 GMT 23 Jan 88

[Program entitled "Problem in Focus," subtitled "At the Crossroads of Opinions; a Discussion on Human Rights Between Soviet and Foreign Journalists;" presented by Aleksandr Druzhinin, deputy editor-in-chief, main editorial board for international affairs, Central Television; with Peter Arnett, Moscow accredited correspondent of U.S. CNN television company; Martin Walker, Moscow correspondent of the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN; Gerd Ruge, West German Television's Moscow correspondent; Arkadiy Maslennikov, editorial board member of PRAVDA; Soviet television and radio political observers Valentin Zorin and Vladimir Pozner; Arnett, Walker and Ruge speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] [Druzhinin] Hello, Comrades. I think you will agree with me that, no matter what international problem we take, it is, in one way or another, in the focus of public attention thanks to the mass media. Journalists are the first to report on what is happening in the world, but it is also they who give the problems and events their own assessment, their own interpretation. Whether they want it or not, people do, as it were, see the world through the eyes of the mass media. So it is quite natural that today we have invited to our studio a group of Soviet and foreign journalists. Allow me, first of all, to introduce our foreign guests. [video switches from closeup of Druzhinin to show studio scene: Druzhinin is in the center, with television monitors in the foreground; to his right are three Soviet journalists; to his left are three Western journalists] There is Peter Arnett, Moscow-accredited correspondent of the U.S. company CNN, one of the four leading television companies in the United States. There is Martin Walker, Moscow correspondent of the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN, and Gerd Ruge, West German Television's correspondent in Moscow.

I will now introduce the Soviet participants in the meeting: Arkadiy Maslennikov, member of the editorial board of the newspaper PRAVDA; and the Soviet Television and Radio political observers Valentin Zorin and Vladimir Pozner.

So, let's return to the role of the mass media in elucidating the problem of human rights. It is beyond question that different political systems and different ideologies also determine the different approach to it here in the socialist countries and in the Western countries. But something else is also beyond question: These differences must not impede the establishment of trust and mutual understanding between nations. Such is the imperative of today's new thinking.

But does that always happens in practice? We have a video recording. It was made recently in Moscow and, thanks to the Western mass media, became widely known far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. It gives some idea of the different approaches to the human rights issue:

[Begin video recording] [Unidentified commentator] The pictures you can now see were taken in Moscow's Smolensk Square on Sunday, 6 December [video shows shots of peaceful demonstration]. On the following day, the 7th, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was to go to Washington for his meeting with President Reagan. It was to this event that the rally, which had been organized in Smolensk Square by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, was dedicated. The aim of the rally is clear from the placards. [video shows placards: "We are for Universal Disarmament;" "Scrap missiles?—I'm in favor!" "We are for Universal and Tota! Disarmament!" "I'm voting for Peace," "No to SDI—Yes to Peace!" "No to the Militarization of Space!"] It was also described by those taking part in the rally:

[Unidentified man, speaking to reporter] You know, I came along to support, as it were, Mikahil Sergeyevich Gorbachev's trip. Needless to say, of course, peace is needed by everyone. I'm for peace, and that's why I'm here.

[Unidentified Voice] Can I just get through? [Video shows closeup crowd scene; cameraman is making his way through a crowd].

[Unseen woman in the crowd] Read it.

[Unidentified Journalist] Excuse me. Please—Moscow Television. [video shows a woman with a placard attached to her coat. Placard reads: "I am 78. Refused a visa for 8 Years. Nonsensitive work for 12 years"]

[Commentator] But these people seem to have a different aim, and the placards are different. They call themselves refuseniks [otkazniki]—that is, people who, they claim, are refused permission to leave the USSR by the authorities. Incidentally, the refuseniks talk frankly and willingly about why they come to Smolensk Square—but only to Western television correspondents, for some reason. [Video shows Peter Arnett talking to the old woman, then other newsmen, cameramen and people talking to them]

Notice, by the way, how many of them gathered in Smolensk Square. As for invitations by the Soviet Television correspondent to them to give an interview, the attitude to these invitations, both among the refuseniks and among the representatives of the Western television companies, is different. [video shows television men and reporters standing around, ignoring the camera]

[Unidentified journalist in Smolensk Square, speaking to bearded man wearing a hat] Two words. Excuse me, just a couple of words. [A friend takes the bearded man's arm and propels him away from the reporter; cameraman and reporter pursue them]

[Bearded man] I don't want to talk to you because I know that—er—because... Take that microphone away. [Video shows the two men walking away]

[Journalist in Smolensk Square, speaking to female journalist] Excuse me. I see you can speak Russian. Can I have a word with you? We're colleagues.

[Female journalist] I'm not interested. [video shows female journalist waving her hand]

[Commentator] Let us also note that not a single one of the Western correspondents showed any interest in talking to any of the participants in the peace rally. [Video shows Soviet peace demonstrator speaking to reporter]

[Demonstrator] I'm an ordinary Soviet worker. A Western correspondent went over to those people.

[Second demonstrator] I'm simply outraged at the way they behave. What's more, it seems to have been some kind of provocation.

[Third demonstrator] They're just after a cheap sensation. You understand, here there's nothing, no reason.

[Fourth demonstrator] More to the point, they distort the facts. [The video report sequence ends with a last view of Western reporters standing in the snow] [end video recording]

[Druzhinin] Well, Peter, we've just seen you on the screen. How would you comment on what was just shown? [passage omitted: Peter Arnett says that he was arrested in the middle of the demonstration by six to eight thugs and taken to a police station, so he was not available for an interview in Smolensk Square, but he can give his views now]

[Druzhinin] What interests me is your view on what happened in Smolensk Square at the rally and at what might be termed the refuseniks' counterdemonstration. [passage omitted: Arnett says that Western reporters received an invitation from the refuseniks. They also knew about the official rally. They turned up to cover both events. He hopes that there will be no official retaliation, and that Western reporters can go on with their job. Human rights were a factor in the then upcoming summit. Coverage of the refuseniks' demonstration was justified]

[Druzhinin] You heard what was said by those taking part in the rally. Do you agree that the Western press—the Moscow correspondents of Western television and Western newspapers here in Moscow—devote disproportionately great attention precisely to gatherings of that kind—when refuseniks and people who have a bone to pick, as it were, with the authorities come togehter? People in Moscow and in the Soviet Union have the impression that that is precisely what is of interest to the representatives of the Western press. Do you agree with that, or not? [passage omitted: Arnett makes the point that perhaps only about 10% of CNN material on the USSR deals with human rights issues and Jewish refuseniks. In any case, such coverage is justified. Western reporters do not arrange provocations in the streets of Moscow. They work in exactly the same way as their Soviet counterparts in the West. He says that he has not heard of any ill-treatment meted out to Soviet journalists recently, for example, when they were photographing New York's homeless.]

[Zorin] Well, first and foremost, Mr Arnett, I wouldn't want you to form the image, not even in your own mind, that it is very difficult for you, poor things, to work here, and that for Soviet journalists, when they work abroad, red carpets are laid down everywhere for us. From my own practical experience in your country I can tell you many stories, beginning with how I and my colleagues were beaten up in 1968 in Chicago during antiwar demonstrations, right up to—quite anecdotal stories—how Disneyland was declared a military site, and a Soviet television group, of which I was a member, was not allowed in Disneyland by the authorities. So let's not lay too much stress on how difficult it is for you poor things, how wonderful for us. I think we ought to talk about the essence of the problem which has been raised today.

[Druzhinin] Martin, how do you cover human rights for your newspaper?

[Walker] I think about 5% of my coverage deals with the topic of human rights. The overwhelming majority of my readers and those of my newspaper want to read more about restructuring, about glasnost and the changes which are currently taking place in the Soviet Union. I have my own individual approach to covering this topic. When I write about human rights, I try as a rule to give one big story about a specific family, or about a specific individual. I do not write about human rights as a whole: I do not give, for example, a thousand small comments, but write a single big story.

I think there has been a genuine change in the way human rights in the Soviet Union are covered in the Western press. In the seventies one sometimes got the impression that the only information on human rights coming out of Moscow was about people of the Jewish nationality. Furthermore, the Soviet Union was portrayed in an extremely negative light. I reckon that over the last 3 years, during the period of restructuring, this proportion has changed considerably. Now we can see that important events are taking place. The main thing is

that the Soviet Union is taking a critical view of everything, and is openly admitting that it still has a great deal to do in the human rights sphere. As a result, the situation is changing.

Nevertheless, there is another problem here, namely that when you talk about human rights, you mean something quite different from what we understand by human rights in the West. This, I think, has something to do with historical tradition. When we in the West talk about human rights, we mean the rights of the individual; and we often mean private property rights—after all, ours is a capitalist system. You in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, tend to mean collective rights, the right to a job, the right to housing, the right to medical treatment and so on. It seems to me that until we find a common language when discussing these problems, and accept that up until now we have been talking about rather different things, we shall be talking to one another like deaf people.

On the other hand, the time has come for us to admit that you are right, too, because the right to a job is hugely important: In my country there are 3 million unemployed today—this is a tragedy. What is more, the right to free medical care, the right to housing are also very important. So we have both been right!

[Pozner] I was very interested to hear what Peter was saying, that he only devotes 10% of his reports to this matter, and Martin says that even less—5%. I am sorry if you only devote 5% to this. This is a very important matter. In this connection I am worried by the following: Are we raising this matter because we and you, as people and as journalists, are concerned by human rights, or are we raising this matter, willy-nilly, to provoke hostility, to provoke enmity toward another country. In this regard I like very much what you said, Martin, in terms of how this matter should be approached. We really must understand your point of view, you must certainly understand ours, but the main thing is that our audiences must understand that there are two viewpoints, that both of these viewpoints have a right to exist, and that it is necessary to understand the other society in all of its diversity, including how that society understands human rights.

[Zorin] I listened with interest to what Martin Walker was saying, and I was thinking about how good it would be if it were not just him that thought like that but also the majority of his colleagues, and moreover not just in the Soviet television studio but also in the pages of their newspapers. That would be wonderful. You speak of the different understanding of the problem of human rights in our country and in yours. But I really cannot agree with the notion that you are for individual rights, and we are for collective rights, and this is what divides us. Excuse me, the problem of unemployment is of course a collective one—you have 3 million, the Americans say they now have a wonderful unemployment situation, they have only 7 million; 7 million tragedies, that's peanuts of course—it depends what you compare it with, when it was 16 it was more—but behind each of these, excuse me, as you call them, collective problems, there lies an individual problem. Seven million American unemployed and 3 million of your British unemployed—that is 7 and 3 million individual tragedies—tragedies. So to juxtapose our, so to speak, collective understanding of human rights against your individual understanding, I would say that this is a rather artificial construction. You want to object, and I am ready to interrupt my thought on condition that you will allow me afterwards to complete it.

[Walker] It is not just a question of what these differences are, we both agree that they exist, but can we come to agreement on why such differences exist?

[Zorin] The difference is that we consider human rights to be a very broad concept, including a very great deal. Let us now look at how this problem has been treated over the past, say 15 years—I am not speaking about you personally, Martin—I am talking about the interpretation of Western propaganda as a whole. You have boiled down this very big, very broad problem, with many aspects, to two or three problems concerning life in the Soviet Union and life in the socialist countries. You write a very great deal, you continue to write, you have written in the past and now continue writing, about freedom of emigration and two or three other problems, like the right of Jews to emigrate, and somehow such inalienable human rights as the right to work and the whole range of socioeconomic rights move to the back burner. I haven't read any particular indignation in articles by your colleagues about how, say, the United States is to this day one of the few states of the world where women and men are not equal before the law, and the 27th amendment to the Constitution, which should have given women equal rights, was rejected some years ago. I could continue this list, but I want to say that the difference between our understanding of human rights, our understanding today—Martin, I stress today's understanding of human rights—and yours is that you boil it down to a part of the problem, and I do not consider this accidental. If you make a particular emphasis when dealing with the socialist countries, this is by design and, to be blunt, not just by design but with intent.

I think that, well, you said yourself that there are 3 million unemployed in Britain. Your economists say these are hard times, and that there could be more of them. But what would happen if these millions of people were to start to compare the socialist countries, where there is not and cannot be unemployment, with their own country, where they are deprived of the right to work? A purposeful attempt has been made over many years to compromise the socialist system, using both alleged and, sometimes, real shortcomings in order that such comparisons would not arise, concentrating all attention on this, turning the human rights problem virtually into the fundamental one in discussion of East

and West, and this is not at all as innocent and fortuitous as could appear at first glance. [passage omitted: Ruge agrees with Walker that there are historical and other reasons for the differences in approach, stressing that human rights include the right to free expression, to the right to discuss and to demonstrate. He compares the breaking-up of demonstrations in Germany with the USSR's refuseniks and reiterates the importance of people being able to say what they think everywhere. Arnett adds that many in the United States would agree with Zorin about women's rights and unemployment, but the United States does not deny the problems. As journalists the participants in the discussion should treat everything in terms of what is a good story, and human rights coverage is an important topic. He disclaims any personal involvement in provoking any of the episodes that worry the Soviet journalists.]

[Druzhinin] Allow me to ask you the following, Peter. The question at issue is not that anyone is trying to deprive you of the right to film whatever you like in Moscow, or to report whatever you consider necessary. What is at issue is proportion. You said, for instance, that about 10% of your material deals with human rights. How much of this 10% —I hope you will forgive me for involving you in such complicated arithmetic—covers human rights issues such as the right to education, the right to free health care in the Soviet Union, the chance for people to have the guarantee of a job? Or does this 10% of your material boil down, in the main, to you filming a woman with a placard such as you have seen, or to you interviewing refuseniks on the Smolensk Square. How would you yourself define the proportions of your material?

[Arnett] I would say that 90% of our material does not deal with human rights problems. When I spoke about human rights, I meant individual people, who consider themselves to be aggrieved in this respect; this is why they engage in such activities and come out publicly. It is undoubtedly a fact that in Moscow today, many Jewish refuseniks are convinced that the only way for them to get an exit visa is to appear frequently before Western television cameras or in Western newspapers.

[Maslennikov] I think that here today we should talk first and foremost about social responsibility, our social responsibility as representatives of the mass media. Indeed, the role and the influence of the mass media have increased enormously, and a particular image of a country is created depending upon what we say and how through our channels, through television, through the newspapers. This either helps with the solution of international problems or impedes it. I do not think that we Soviet journalists sitting here and my other colleagues appear always absolutely irreproachable here, either. Perhaps our coverage, too, if you take it over a number of years, at least, of the situation in Western countries might also have been somewhat one-sided.

But, you know, we are dealing here with an entirely specific situation. A meeting was shown on Smolensk Square in Moscow in support of the peace mission on which Gorbachev was going to Washington. It would appear that a sense of fairness and objectivity would quite simply demand that the Western journalists present there should first and foremost give that coverage. In this specific instance this issue apparently did not interest them. They preferred to broadcast all the, so to speak, rowdy elements of all kinds who appeared there, all kinds of acute situations, on the day that Gorbachev arrived in Washington. Therefore I agree entirely with my colleague Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, when he says that here it cannot be a matter of some personal prejudices or some kind of bias on the part of one correspondent or another. It is obviously simply a question of the policy of the mass media.

I would not be being entirely objective, probably, if I did not say that of late tangible changes have been observed, all the same. Here I must give Martin Walker his due—he is one of those people, of those British journalists who have tried and are, obviously, trying to produce material on the positive changes in the Soviet Union, to give a broader picture of life in the Soviet Union.

But on the whole, to take the general picture of life in the USSR and the general role of the mass media, unfortunately—and I say this with all responsibility—in many instances it has been negative, it is not conducive to improvement, to simple mutual understanding. To be honest, this worries me very much as a representative of this profession. The longer I work, the more I come to the conclusion—and my other colleagues agree with me—that we journalists obviously need to have something like the doctors have, signing the Hippocratic Oath. We also need to have some kind of code of ethics, we also need to make some kind of pledge not to do things that sow emnity, to sow mutual suspicion.

You would be complaining in vain were you to say that, for example, what happened to you, say, somewhere on the streets of Moscow could not happen in the United States. We also get shoved, we also get hit. Our television crew in London, Shishkovskiy and Stepanov, were chased along Whitehall by some kind of strange people with knives. The television cameraman was not only knocked over by uniformed policemen, they broke his lights to blind him and stop him carrying out his normal, professional function when we were covering the print workers' strike. We protested against this. Incidentally, your information ministry [as heard] and the Foreign Office did not apologize to us for that incident. Masses of other things happen. Sometimes people simply do not like it when some things are filmed in a way that they did not expect, and when I looked at these scenes in Moscow I also saw that people were simply indignant at your conduct there.

[Druzhinin] You put it like this in our conversation today, that the only way for refuseniks to go abroad, for Jewish refuseniks, you were precise, is to go out somewhere in central Moscow with placards and to stand

there until the Soviet authorities let them out, or something like that. This is not so. I don't know if you told your viewers about the regulations on emigration from the Soviet Union or not. But if not, I suggest that we now watch a tape. It is an interview with Kuznetsov, the head of the Visa and Registration Department:

[Begin video recording] [Kuznetsov] More than 24,000 people have already received permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union within the framework of the new legislation that is in force. To look at it country by country, 7,000 of them received permission to emigrate to the state of Israel, more than 8,000 to the FRG and something more than 4,000 to the United States. [passage omitted: Kuznetsov goes on to explain that a large number of those who are refused permission because they have had access to state secrets (no figures given) are permitted to emigrate once their knowledge can do no harm to the Soviet Union.] I'll quote two figures here. Over the past 11 years, from 1976 to 1986, the emigration of 9,000 people, who were formerly refused because of the knowledge they had, was reviewed and positively decided. Over 10 months of 1987, 4,500 such people who formerly had knowledge of state secrets were given permission to emigrate to Israel alone. [end video recording]

[Druzhinin] Well, Peter, has that interview changed your image of the procedure for emigration from the Soviet Union, and would you not like to use it on CNN?

[Arnett] I have been seeking an interview with that particular official for a whole year, but he has refused to meet me. I assure you, if he'll now agree to give us an interview, we'll take it. [passage omitted: Arnett goes on to explain CNN's interest in legislative changes in the USSR. He calls reports on things like Indian political prisoners in the United States "the price of glasnost" and explains that it would become clear to Americans that the USSR had a legal system and that demonstratons were not the only way of getting things done if more could be shown on U.S. television about the legislative system in the USSR.]

[Maslennikov] Martin, I have praised your reporting, and I really do think many of your reports are very good. But let us recall what you wrote during the period when the forum of peace-loving forces was under way here. You did not write about the forum. You kept relating—four or five times—how someone grabbed you, someone seized you from behind, someone or other fell over... I agree with you that we should find a common approach, we need to learn to see human rights as a whole: In the final analysis, the human rights and democratic rights which exist are the result of people's struggle over the centuries, they were developed by peoples and thinkers. So we do not have any sort of arrogant attitude to the norms of democracy which exist in your countries: We keep a close eye on them and study them.

We justifiably expect—and I subscribe to my colleagues' views here—you, for your part, to stop closing your eyes, so to speak—both in the mass information media and in politics—stop closing your eyes to the massive scale of flouting of human rights, primarily of social and economic rights, and not just those alone. Take, for instance, the racial problem. Here there is direct political discrimination, so to speak. You, Mr Walker, are aware of the way your respected country, the oldest democracy in the world, is treating those same Tamils, for instance, who sought refuge in England from the very difficult conditions which have come about in their own country. [video shows Maslennikov turning to Arnett] and in your country, after all—just look what happens to the Mexicans, they are hunted down with dogs on the border. So when you champion freedom of movement, freedom of emigration and reunification of families, just look in the mirror; let us calmly sort out what is and is not done where. [passage omitted: Ruge counters by asking where they got their information about dogs being used to catch Mexicans on the U.S. border. Zorin attributes that to the U.S. press. He adds that were Western journalists to look into the Soviet press today, they would find much more interesting topics than the one they've tagged onto for 15 years now. It would be wrong for me to say you don't use self-criticism and glasnost, but there's a lack of proportion between coverage given to restructuring and coverage given to the few people who draw attention to themselves. Ruge disagrees. He says West German television uses much more material on restructuring and very little material on human rights and emigration. He says it's not true that they are unbalanced in their coverage of Soviet events]

[Pozner] I would like to recall a story told to me by a correspondent for THE NEW YORK TIMES in Moscow many years ago. We were talking about the coverage of the two countries, the United States and USSR, and at some point I asked: But why don't you put out anything positive? He said to me: Vladimir, you know that in the West we always report the negative about ourselves, too, we report critically. For example, he said, we don't write about an aircraft that landed alright at Kennedy Airport, we write about the aircraft that crashed; and that is our attitude to you, too. There is a kind of logic in this, but there is also a very great difference. Ninety-nine point nine percent of Americans know that almost all aircraft land normally at Kennedy Airport, so you can write only about the one that crashed. But if you write about an airport called Domodedovo, an American has no idea where this airport is, and if you only write about aircraft that crash he starts to think that at Domodedovo, as distinct from Kennedy, the aircraft crash. Nobody says that you shouldn't write about negative phenomena—we write about them ourselves, and that is normal. But talking about the way our viewers and readers understand things, do you not think that you need to give a fuller picture?

[Walker] [Passage omitted: Walker agrees, quoting the adage that dog bites man is not newsworthy, but should man bite dog that is another matter. He thinks that the

past coverage of infringements of human rights in the Soviet Union has been replaced in part with the news of the changes in the USSR today] As a journalist I have been beaten up many times in various countries: I've been beaten up in India, in South Korea, in Spain when Franco was still alive, in Portugal and several times I have been beaten up on the streets of London, including by representatives of the National Front, who are considered in our country to be neofascists [at this point Walker says in English: "Who are a kind of neofascist Pamyat," which is not given in the translation, which has been put on afterwards, as the Russian runs ahead of the English]. And last year I was beaten up on the streets of Moscow. Th only time that this ever got into the newspaper headlines happened to be the incident in Moscow.

Perhaps you'll say that this happened because we in the West seize upon any sensation, in order somehow to reproach the Soviet Government. I don't think so. [passage omitted] It seems to me that what happened in the Arbat and what happened during a number of demonstrations was only an attempt on the part of individuals to sabotage these government measures. In just this way, those people are trying to demonstrate that they do not like restructuring, that they do not like glasnost, and that glasnost must have some limits. We are seeing reflections of this in the pages of the Soviet newspapers and on Soviet television screens. It is remarkable that these phenomena are being reflected; this is a joy to see. But it is very difficult for us to understand, as it is for you, for it is a completely new situation: Is there opposition in the country to restructuring and glasnost, or not? Opposition that manifests itself in the streets, in attacks on demonstrators or on us, the Western correspondents? I think that our uncertainty is precisely because of this, because we honestly want to understand if restructuring is going to succeed or fail. This is precisely why we accord such great importance to the problem of human rights.

[Maslennikov] I personally have no doubt of your favorable disposition to those processes taking place here, but the overall approach to analysis of these processes betrays the same old approach, the search for juicy facts, interpretations backed up by nothing. I know your concept, that someone is trying—so to speak, intends to sabotage restructuring, glasnost and democratization, and therefore stages street provications. That is an entirely arbitrary interpretation, dictated once again by the search for some kind of angle.

When people are looking all the time for juicy facts, even for the loftiest of purposes such as the struggle for democracy and for civil rights, some pretty ludicrous and, one might say, and correctly so, distorted situations arise. I don't recall if you wrote in your newspaper an article in defense of Nikolay Baranov, the fighter for civil rights in the Soviet Union? There was such a figure. Our competent authorities, primarily medical workers, assured British representatives that Nikolay Baranov was simply a mentally unstable man, a sick person. They told us: You are making it up that he is sick; he is being specially detained in a psychiatric hospital because he speaks out against the authorities. In the end, guided by humanitarian motives, so to speak, and, of course, under pressure from the British, we gave permission for Nikolay Baranov to leave for Britain. Several months passed, then at our embassy, in this case the Soviet Embassy in Britain, these two pieces of paper were received. The first of these is signed by Psychiatrist Low-Beer from the Riverside Health Authority, that is, from the regional health administration, in our terms. He informed us that a certain Mr Baranov was hospitalized on 3 March 1987 after causing a fight at a tram or a bus stop. He was then initially taken to the police station and then escorted to this hospital from which we got this piece of paper, because it turned out that he was mentally ill. A letter from Baranov himself accompanied this paper. I'll read it now, and then I'll show it to viewers. It sounds exactly like this: Declaration to the Soviet Embassy. Dear Citizen and Head Zamyatin—Zamyatin is the ambassador—I beg you sincerely and in earnest to consider urgently the matter of my quickest possible return to the homeland, that is, the USSR. Your prodigal son, Nikolay Baranov, 10 March 1987.

I used this text to appeal, I tried to appeal through the British mass media, to those political leaders, including Lord Whitelaw, the deputy prime minister, who sought Baranov's emigration, to ask why he does not now come to the defense of Baranov, who is languishing in a British psychiatric, so to speak, prison. It is a special regime hospital. I got no reaction at all. There will not be normal relations between us, gentlemen, while such things still happen; therefore, I call for us to have broader vision, so to speak, of our tasks. Apparently many of the Western media would not agree to that. In my view social vision, social responsibility, is one of the main criteria of our work.

[Zorin] I should like to dispute one statement by our Western colleagues: Mr Walker, in particular, said that now everything is different. Mr Ruge says that his television station presents an objective picture. Mr Walker gives an objective picture. I am sure that Peter Arnett, too, considers that he gives objective coverage of events, in accordance with the new processes in train. But in that case, the main question I should like to ask you comes to my mind—or even several questions. Question number one: Can you assert that the image of the Soviet Union, the image of an enemy, or, shall we say, that very unfriendly image created over many years by the Western mass information media, by your efforts and the efforts of your colleagues—can you assert that this image has been, if not broken down, at least genuinely shaken? That is the first question.

The second question I should like to ask and hear your answer to is: Do you consider that you, in your countries, have resolved all the problems in the human rights sphere, and that no problems at all remain in your countries? You are shaking your heads there. I take it from that that you do not think so.

So, question number three: In order to reprimand and admonish others, and in order to explain to them how they should behave and what human rights are, one needs to have a moral basis. If you proceed from the view that you have things to see to at home in the human rights sphere, have you any moral right to reprimand us and give us instructions and teach us how to resolve our problems? Those are the question I should like to put to our colleagues.

[Arnett] I think that any independent, objective observer would say that, of course, the attitude in the United States to the Soviet leadership has changed, and to the country as a whole. TIME magazine proclaimed Gorbachev Man of the Year; it published a long article on Gorbachev, about his life and career and his high intellect and political maturity. He is very popular in the United States at the moment. I think that this is to some extent due to the Western press, which writes about the new relations with the Soviet Union that have become established over the 3 years that Mr Gorbachev has led your country. As for human rights problems, I can only refer to what I said before: that in the United States we are trying to improve the state of affairs in this sphere, and we shall continue to write about this.

[Walker] You had three questions, and there are three answers to them. First, I am not an objective journalist, there is no such thing as an objective journalist. We all try to give honest, subjective accounts of the facts, as honest as possible. As for the second question—have we in Britain solved our own human rights problems? No, we have not. I think the main problem which causes me a great deal of concern, and which sometimes even make me feel ashamed, is Northern Ireland. [passage omitted] The Soviet Union does indeed have every justification, I think, to talk about the racial problem in Great Britain, and to talk about Northern Ireland. After all, you might be able to offer us some constructive solutions. But I consider that I in my turn have the right to comment on the state of human rights in the Soviet Union.

[Zorin] Martin, just a second! Excuse me for interrupting you. Your right to write is one thing: I do not intend to take that right away from you. But it is another matter when the U.S. Congress passes a law linking trade relations with the Soviet Union with the problem of emigration of people from the Soviet Union. That is no longer an expression of opinion; it is interference on the part of the supreme legislative organs in the United States, in our internal affairs. That is why I ask the question: Is it not more reasonable for congressmen to get on with their own problems rather than pass laws relating to the problems of the Soviet people. As the Soviet people are demonstrating, they are tackling their own problems, without the help of the esteemed congressmen.

[Passage omitted]

[Pozner] [Passage omitted] Let's not beat about the bush here. For many, many years, Western correspondents in general—I won't say all, but in general—gave an exclusively negative picture of the Soviet Union. I read it, I saw it. Even last year, a Harris poll assessed that as many as 96% of Americans still regard this country, our country, the Soviet Union, as hostile. Now, they were not born with that point of view; they watch television, they read the newspapers, they hear what politicians say, what their mothers and fathers said, what people say at school. That is where they get that picture from. If people in the streets here regard Western journalists with a certain distrust, this distrust is not unfounded; there are grounds for distrust, because on the whole, Western journalists were perfectly well aware what sort of material would get onto the screen—material about dissidents will get a showing. But reports about how well Ivan Ivanovich is living haven't a chance. [passage omitted]

[Zorin] I would like to mention another aspect linked with the human rights problem. Sometimes it is difficult for you and us to understand each other because each of the sides—both you and ourselves—is trying to impose upon the other its own views, its own impressions, its own traditions: In fact, we are talking about peoples that are different, that have different traditions, and different impressions. There are things that for us are simple unacceptable: Pornography, say, insofar as I have had occasion to see it in the United States, in Britain and in the FRG, a revolting display of pornography which worries very many respectable people in your countries. But what is used to justify this pornography? It is justified by the right freely to express one's opinion! This is not one of the areas where I am calling for mutual understanding to be reached—it is from an area that simply has to be marked off as an absurd interpretation of human rights as distinct from one that is to some extent rational. It seems to me that our conversation today has brought out some issues on which we can find a common point of view; and it has also brought out problems on which it is difficult for us to reach agreement. We represent different systems and different views, but it seems to me that there is one problem, one point on which we can both agree and find a common viewpoint. First and foremost—and this is an imperative of the times—we have to concentrate efforts of all honorable people on defending the right of man to live upon this earth, the right of the human race to exist, of the right of the children of the present generation and its grandchildren to exist. In this connection I would like to return to the thought expressed by colleague Arkadiy Maslennikov about the social responsibility of the journalist. We are going to argue with each other. No doubt it will be a long time before we reach a common point of view on many questions. But the problem of the human right to life is a problem on which we cannot take up opposite points of view. On this problem we have to find agreement, to find it as soon as possible. Journalists have to act with due recognition of the responsibility that they have for expressing not just their personal point of view but a point of view that is listened to by millions and

millions of people, for they are actively shaping world public opinion. I think that on this problem we can all agree. [passage omitted]

[Druzhinin] Well, our time has run out, I'm afraid, and I should like simply to make a few concluding comments. When they started this program, I do not think that the Soviet and foreign participants were setting out to persaude one another and convert their opponents to another faith. Differences in approach to human rights arising from differences in ideology and political system remain and, of course, will continue to remain for as long as these systems exist. But is it permissible to use these differences as a pretext and justification for confrontation, in order to step up tension, to cultivate the image of an enemy and attempts to discredit one another? I think that in our era, when we are confronted by the common goal of living and surviving on our planet, this is wholly impremissible.

We representatives of the mass information media should seek to promote not estrangement but communication between people. This is the duty of the journalist. We must have polite, civilized relations. If each of the participants in this discussion is able to make his own contribution, however small, toward developing such relations, then, I think, a definite step will be made on the way toward mutual understanding between our peoples. On that note, permit me to end our program today. I should like to thank those who took part. Thank you, comrade viewers, for your attention. Goodbye!

'International Situation—Questions, Answers'
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["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Vyacheslav Lavrentyev with Nikolay Shishlin, Igor Surguchev, Boris Andrianov, and Sergey Pravdin]

[Text] [Shishlin] Damera Mikhaylovna Ryanova from Belokurikha in Altay Kray asks: Why is it that according to the Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles we have to destroy twice as many missiles? Well, the question is not quite accurate, although it is fully understandable. It is not accurate in the purely practical respect. In fact, according to the treaty signed in Washington on scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles we shall be destroying not twice as many missiles but approximatley three times as many. It would be possible to give a brief reply, since we do indeed have more of these missiles, but probably such a reply would prove unsatisfactory.

In the case at hand, what is at issue is a decision not only of a military-technical order, but also a political decision. But first the military aspect of the matter. Our intermediate, and even more our shorter-range missiles, are not strategic weapons. As for the U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles stationed in a number of West European states, they are missiles of a strategic designation regarding our country and our allies. It is very important we take this circumstance into account.

Second, when you take the military-technical aspect of the whole problem, you must see the final outcome clearly—zero for the United States in these classes of weaponry and zero for the Soviet Union. In this case the distance from these zeros to be traversed in itself is not of overwhelming significance. But I mentioned the political importance of the treaty, since the political importance takes precedence, of course, in this decision. In this case we are making the first step along the path of implementing a program of achieving a nuclear-free, nonviolent world—the program which was raised in the well-known statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev of 15 January 1986. We must look at this treaty not as the outcome of Soviet and U.S. efforts but the first step on a path of a profound descaling of weapons, a path of a genuine improvement of international relations, a path of consolidating peace and security.

There is also this question posed by Petr Aleksandrovich Sergeyev from the Udmurt ASSR. The question is: How real are the prospects for the ratification of the treaty by the U.S. Congress? I think they are realistic. At present the process of ratification is already starting in the United States. The treaty will now be examined by Senate committees: Foreign Relations, Intelligence, and Armed Forces committees. Judging from how the political situation is shaping at the moment in Washington, however, one can say with certainty that the overwhelming majority of senators are in favor of ratifying the treaty in question.

There will probably be attempts to put a brake on the ratification process, and I do not want to simplify the overall picture. But it is my conviction that it will nevertheless get through without the tabling, or more accurately, the adoption of killer amendments. That is what the amendments are called, which in effect, overturn the contents of the treaty. I think it will get through without that. It must be said that the U.S. Administration itself and President Reagan are working fairly hard now with the senators, and in general the picture is so far favorable.

Indeed, literally the latest statements by the U.S. President and the secretary of state show perfectly clearly the resolve of the administration to achieve the ratification of the treaty before the visit to Moscow of the U.S. President.

Here is another question, posed by Raisa Mikhaylovna Sarayeva from Svetlograd, Stavropol Kray. Why is the United States developing SDI if things are, after all, leading toward the scrapping of the entire nuclear weaponry? Well, this is a question, naturally, for the U.S. Administration. We are also asking that question. Evidently, in the case, SDI has become the favorite sacred image of the current U.S. Administration and it is still

praying. But there are not just some religious motives here; there is also a blind faith in the possibility of acquiring an impenetrable shield. Of course, there is the calculation also of pleasing the military-industrial complex. There is the calculation of turning outer space into military superiority over the Soviet Union. There are naturally also other motives. How will things turn out? I think the assessment of the overwhelming majority of scientists is absolutely correct, to the effect that it is purely and simply not realistic to implement the Star Wars program as such and to make some sort of impenetrable umbrella over the territory of the United States and its allies; it is just not realistic.

I think that from a military viewpoint SDI should not worry us. But from the political viewpoint it should worry us, because of course the intention in itself to carry out this program is capable of destabilizing the military-strategic situation, and not even so much the military-strategic: It is capable of leading to some sort of fever in Soviet-U.S. relations, which are only jsut getting on to some more or less rational and calm road. So I agree in general with the question that indeed the venture itself of the United States to implement this Star Wars program—or as it is still called, the Strategic Defense Initiative—this venture is not realistic, but it is harmful.

Vladimir Petrovich Stepanov from Moscow, asks: Why does the Soviet-U.S. treaty signed in Washington not propose any obligations for the European countries, for France and Britain? It is a Soviet-U.S. treaty and it covers U.S. missiles and Soviet missiles of a corresponding class. Naturally, neither the United States nor the USSR can decide for France and Britain what they should do with their nuclear missile arsenal. Although I understand Vladimir Petrovich means our former attitude, when we intended to go for a treaty which would also include the nuclear missile weaponry of the two West European states, I.E. France and Britain.

To take the first step it proved necessary to view this problem at the first stage as a Soviet-U.S. one. However, the Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping two classes of nuclear missile weaponry is, of course, at present a very important political factor which will affect, on the whole, the entire process of overcoming the arms race, including a braking influence in the final analysis, on the policies of Britian and France.

At present it does not. What is more, I tell you, both France and Britain are now talking about the need to modernize their nuclear armaments. They are engaging in the modernization of nuclear armaments. Their arguments for this posture are twofold. First, they consider that nuclear weapons ensure a sufficiently reliable guarantee of their own security, and second, they declare that the French and British nuclear weapons are a drop in the ocean in comparison with the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals.

As for the second argument, of course the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals are many times greater than the corresponding nuclear armaments of either France or Britain. But as for the first argument—that the nuclear arms race and nuclear weapons are precisely a sort of insurance policy against war—then one must take into account the fact that if humanity has been really living in peace, or more accurately without world war for a period of over 4 decades, then this is simply more likely thanks to a happy course of circumstances than to the fact that nuclear weapons exist. No one can guarantee the future with nuclear weapons will not lead to the irreparable.

For this reason we must consider it this way: after the subsequent steps have been taken to scrap Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons—and you know that there is currently serious political talk about a 50% cut in strategic offensive weapons along with observance of the ABM Treaty provisions and nonwithdrawal from it for a definite agreed term—after these steps, of course, the question will inevitably be on the agenda about including the nuclear dialogue between the USSR and the United States the remaining nuclear powers—both Britain and France—and China.

Now we have a question from Aleksandr Sergeyevich Terentyev from Dushanbe. This is the question: What is the motive of the European NATO countries in calling for compensation for the U.S. missiles withdrawal? Well, they argue that there is, so they say, an imbalance between the armed forces of NATO and the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact. In fact there is no such imbalance; there is really asymmetry. The Warsaw Pact has a preponderance in some categories of weapons and NATO has a preponderance in others. This asymmetry can, and should, of course, be eliminated.

In particular, one could think of a third zero—a zero for tactical weapons. Incidentally, it was precisely about these that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze was talking in West Germany when meeting West German politicans. Here the Warsaw Pact's principle is clear: to compare the armed forces of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact and to equalize them at the lowest level, taking the arms race lower and lower, and being guided here by the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

But so far NATO's attitude is unclear: They prefer talking more about compensation. But I think that precisely this problem—compensation, an upgrading of weapons—is a thoroughly false problem. I would like to think that European politicians, West European politicians, and the West European public, will be afforded a sense of responsibility so as to understand that when a certain class of weaponry is being scrapped, when the way is open for steps along that path, it would be ridiculous, to say the least, and dangerous to move in directly the reverse direction, to resume the arms race in some other directions.

Here is another question, from Mikhail Vladimirovich Gorelov from Leningrad: In what directions of disarmament are the positions of East and West closest at present? First, a large amount of progress has been achieved in working out an agreement on scrapping chemical weapons and the very basis for producing them. In percentage terms it is fairly difficult to determine to what extent that document is ready, but perhaps something of the order of 95% of the document is ready. It would be perfectly possible this year to complete work on this document and truly to achieve an historic decision on eliminating chemical weapons. Talks are just about to resume in Geneva on this problem. But the U.S. attitude is still worrying; whereas the preceding period was a fairly discernible movement forward in working out an agreement, in itself the decision of the U.S. Administration to produce binary weapons at a time when negotiations are in progress on eliminating chemical weapons of course says that the U.S. political will is not at all yet concentrated on working out an all-embracing, universal treaty on eliminating chemical weapons. But either way, the attitudes of East and West are fairly close here.

Concerning a treaty on a 50% reduction of strategic offensive weapons, we can also speak of a certain closeness of positions. The United States is agreed on a 50% reduction; this is already something. Certain accords are being sketched out on sublevels of the strategic launchers to be reduced. Many parameters of the treaty have been agreed and at present, when talks are in progress in Geneva, the work is not starting from scratch. The outline of this treaty already exists. There are also difficult problems: Both verification [kontrol] and a number of other difficulties exist. But they are, in general, nevertheless, solvable. It is important, however, that we are able to attain this treaty while strengthening the provisions of the ABM Treaty, while observing that treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and not withdrawing from that treaty for a period of a previously agreed term.

[Lavrentyev] Comrade Ivakhnenko asks several questions about Taiwan: What is the status of the island; what countries does it maintain relations with; and how is the Taiwan problem being solved? After the PRC was formed on 1 November 1949, the Kuomintang troops that had been defeated by the People's Liberating Army settled on Taiwan and proclaimed the so-called government of the Chinese Republic there. For a long time that government represented the entire Chinese People at the United Nations. In 1971 the PRC took its legitimate place in the United Nations. In 1978 the PRC was recognized by the United States which, however, continued its policy of two Chinas.

The PRC Government undertakes purposeful steps to reunite its homeland. It puts forward, in particular, the idea of one state, two systems, in the sense that the policy, economic structure, and social system of one state may differ from the social and political system of the whole country. Of course, the plenary powers of the government of such a region have only a local nature and the region itself has not state sovereignty. The Kuomintang leaders, however, adhere to the policy of no contacts, no negotiations, no compromises toward Beijing. I would like to note that the problems of Hong Kong and Macao were solved on the basis of concepts put forward by the PRC. So, in principle, a way to solve the Taiwan problem may also be found. Taiwan's territory is 36,000 square km and its population exceeds 10 million.

[Lavrentyev] Comrade Ponomarev from the settlement of Krasnoarmeyskaya, Krasnodar Kray, asks: Who finances U.S. military bases abroad? Leonid Mikhaylovich Ivanov from Barnaul asks: Why are countries providing land for U.S. military bases? Each U.S. military installation has a history of its own. The U.S. acts depending on the circumstances. They dictate their conditions when they can or bribe the rulers when they cannot dictate.

On the whole, today U.S. military installations are not welcomed anywhere. Touching upon this issue, the British THE TIMES noted that since the sixties at least nine countries have refused to extend agreements on bases. The U.S. currently has to hold talks about this with another five countries. The United States has its military installations in 34 countries. Their maintenance costs are being paid both by Washington and those states. For the FRG, for example, it amounts to more than DM2 billion annually, and over $1 billion for Japan. The presence of military bases in foreign territories allows Washington to influence the governments of those countries and to make them follow Washigton's policies.

Dmitriy Vladimirovich Bryuskevich from Moscow asks about the situation at the Geneva talks on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. Comrade Demidov, also from Moscow, asks whether the United States has supplied information about its stocks of chemical weapons. Certain information has been given; however, according to military specialists, the U.S. data does not contain the absolute number of chemical armaments. Also, the United States is not revealing its stocks in West Europe, though from a military viewpoint this is precisely the most sensitive information.

At a news conference in Washington held in late December, a representative of the State Department admitted that he had no specific information on this issue. As to the Geneva talks on working out an international convention on the universal banning and elimination of chemical weapons, things have become complicated again because the United States has started the production of a new generation of chemical weapons.

'Top Priority': Restructuring World Affairs

LD232324 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 23 Jan 88

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Radomir Bogdanov and Igor Moloshenko, not further identified]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] Hello everybody, I'm Pavel Kuznetsov presenting "Top Priority," with Radomir Bogdanov and Igor Moloshenko. Just as there is perestroyka in the USSR, we would like to see a perestroyka as some kind of a restructuring in world affairs, and this was stated by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in his book "Perestroyka for Our Country and the World" that was first published in the United States last year. So let us look at the latest developments from this angle. That's what I suggest for this program, if you don't mind.

[Bogdanov] Yes, of course, I don't mind. I believe it's very, very constructive idea to look at this system of international relations.

[Kuznetsov] I'm not finished yet.

[Bogdanov] Oh, I'm sorry, I'm sorry!

[Kuznetsov] In my view, in my view, the most intricate problem, the most intricate knot that we have to untangle is how to blend the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union—as they are often called superpowers—on the one hand and, on the other hand, with those of other nations, smaller nations, both non-nuclear and nuclear, such as France, Great Britain, and of course, China. Now if, in your view, this is any problem at all [as heard]. Now, could you give me your assessment of the situation in this area? Now!

[Bogdanov] Well, I began to [words indistinct] but you interrupted me, and now it's going to be difficult. You keep insisting on...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] You interrupted me. OK, Professor Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] So, I believe that the problem we are going to discuss today—it's really a very important problem, because whatever happens in our relations with the United States, whatever happens in our relations with some other European countries—if we do not restructure, the whole set of the international relations, we are doomed to failure. That's my belief. And to find out for everybody in this very complex structure—big, super big, small, medium—it's own proper place with its own voice and with its own interests, and maybe my friend Igor will not agree with me because I know he...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Suppose he does agree?

[Bogdanov] Well, I know his ideas, but I believe that the very provocative, in a sense, and very interesting idea is the idea of a balance of interests. We, all of us, we're used to very old notion of balance of power. But my experience with that, above all in the post-World War II period is very negative. [indistinct interruption by unidentified speaker] Stronger you are, better place you have, higher voice you have, and all the rest. But instead of that, I believe it's high time to introduce a new principle, a principle of balance of interest. That's what you have already mentioned: how to combine the interests of big, medium, and small. There is only one way out: balance of interests, balance of interests.

[Moloshenko] Well, you can introduce any principle, but if it is not accepted by the sovereign states, it can't work.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, Igor, I'm coming to that. You remember very well that some time ago this country proposed to hold summits with China, with Federal Germany. Well, I was not briefed in on the idea, but I think it would be safe to assume that one of the topics that could be discussed at such summits, and not only with these two countries but perhaps with somebody else, is their role in contributing to the efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union in first slowing down the nuclear arms race, then perhaps halting it, or, hopefully, reversing it. Without such a contribution, I mean, our plan for a non-nuclear world by the year 2000, I think, is going to be a pipedream; it's not going to materialize because in the first place this process cannot be a bilateral Soviet-American affair or a bilateral Soviet-American commitment forever. If other countries don't join in....

[Moloshenko, interrupting] (?Well, yes, you're probably) correct, but I would say that one of the major problems is not just to decide in what direction we should move but simply to accept, to understand some changes. Because you know, the international system for the last several decades has changed enormously. Three decades ago, we had in a sense a really bipolar world, with the United States and the Soviet Union as major powers, or superpowers as they were called....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] That's the time when this term was coined: "superpowers."

[Moloshenko] Well, yes, and you know now we have a very different situation. But very often we (?usually) assess the situation from the bipolar point of view. But the world simply doesn't work this way any more, so we should accept it, and then we can decide what kind of steps we should make first.

[Kuznetsov] Okay.

[Moloshenko] It was mentioned just, excuse me.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, go on.

[Moloshenko] Just one small clarification. Professor Bogdanov mentioned the balance of power concept. Well, it's a very well-known concept. We had it in Europe, for example for several centuries, but during the last—during the postwar period—it wasn't just a balance of power, because we had nuclear weapons and we had not only balance of power but balance of terror, so to say. There was such thing as nuclear deterrence.

[Bogdanov] I wonder what is the difference between balance of power and balance of terror? [indistinct interruption by unidentified speaker] Basically, what is the difference?

[Kuznetsov] Gentlemen! This strikes me as a kind of a theoretical debate, you know, with very little use for our listeners.

[Moloshenko] Well, I can give you a use for our listeners. For example, in a balance of power situation, if you have more divisions, more troops, you are stronger; you have more power. When you have nuclear weapons, if you have 1,000 more (?weapons) than your enemy, than your opponent, it doesn't mean that you have more power, because these weapons are not usable, and there would be holocaust anyway if they are used. It's a major difference.

[Kuznetsov] Alright. While we are on the subject of summitry, it was announced that there will be a West European summit, or rather a summit of the NATO alliance early March, on March 2d and 3d, and, judging by reports that followed this announcement made in Brussels, Belgium, the idea is to show Western solidarity in advance of the fourth Soviet-American summit in Moscow later this year. When President Reagan comes, we hope that by that time we can sign a treaty, cutting by half our strategic arsenals. Now, my question, or rather two questions: Is there such a thing as Western solidarity, and if there is such a thing, what is it based on?

[Kuznetsov] There are so many different interests.

[Bogdanov] Of course, there is such a thing as Western solidarity. It is based on military alliance, on economical alliance, on cultural allinace, on many other spiritual alliances, if you like. But what, for all that, is Western solidarity?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, that's a good question.

[Bogdanov] To keep stronger than the Soviet deployment or the Eastern world and to intimidate them, or—what is all that for? And I believe that nowadays you have such changes in the whole international set-up, and in the whole thinking, that to talk in terms of military power of the solidarity is something very obsolete. Solidarity...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] But they keep talking about it.

[Bogdanov] Yes.

[Kuznetsov] Soviet superiority in this, that and the other...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes, they talk about that; that's why I objected very much, because in that way solidarity is obsolete, because in a way I agree with Igor Moloshenko that nuclear weapons is politically unusable or....

[Muznetsov, interrupting] [words indistinct] Militarily?

[Bogdanov] Military—politically usable, but military unusable and some other, some other military means are also not usable. In any case, you cannot wage a war in Europe today. So my problem, my question, is what for all this military solidarity? That's why I come back to my idea of balance of interests.

[Kuznetsov] If Western solidarity—and we know that—is based on a notion that a Soviet attack is coming, that it is kind of inevitable, how wise is such a policy? Can fear be a long-term guide for politicians? I mean, we hear all this talk of, talk about making up for the loss of medium- and shorter-range weapons by compensating, by filling in this void with more sophisticated conventional arms. You know, but suppose there is not going to be any Soviet attack, and many people see that this country is changing, and do admit that. Now, can you explain [as heard] me in very simple terms what kind of policy is it? Is it inertia? Perhaps we're to blame for the way they talk and regard us; perhaps it's seeking to extract some short-term political dividends on the part of those people who continue to frighten their countries with a Soviet threat. Or perhaps it's just a simple policy of hiding, trying to hide one's head in the sand and pretend that nothing's happening. Can you explain me this situation?

[Moloshenko] Well, I think, as a matter of fact, that there is a kind of misperception in the Western alliance, not only of the Soviet Union but of the alliance itself. There is too much stress on the military side of the alliance. For example, now we have a lot of talk of this terrible danger of decoupling of Western Europe and the United States, that there will be some kind of a gap and it would create a terrible danger. Well, as a matter of fact, it's a very strange notion because you know the real solidarity in the Western alliance is based on mutual interests, and in this respect I would like to be a little bit more positive to the Western Europe, for example. Because, well, you know that there is a number of nations which fought rather violently against each other in the past, but now, you know, for me it's very difficult to imagine a situation within Western Europe, for example, because they managed to create a whole network of mutual interests—you know, economical, political, and so on and so forth. And it makes war unusable in the relationships between them. Yes, but politically they use very much this Soviet threat and they tend to stress very much the military dimension of this alliance, and I do believe that in this sense, this policy is obsolete. And I hope that our country will help, you know, the clarification of the issue by the processes going on in this country by perestroyka.

[Kuznetsov] Now, you said you had a positive attitude. I don't have any negative attitudes toward West Europeans. What I want to understand is why this logic; if some weapons disappear, there are fewer of some kind of weapons. Let's build up and have more weapons of another kind. This is a vicious circle, and if you want to achieve anything we've got to break through.

[Bogdanov] I have a very simple answer [words indistinct]. If you still stick to the theory of balance of power, of course you should always build up more, more, and more. If you have more power, you are more visible in the picture and you have more voice, you are more vocal. But if you change your way of thinking, and instead of balance of power you (?practice) or start (?at least) of thinking of balance of interests, then of course you don't need all that, you don't need nuclear weapons, you don't need all that building up. What you need is military sufficiency. So that's why I come back again to my idea of changing the notion of power interests, the balance of power, on balance of interests. Now what is very appealing for me, for instance, is that notion of balance of interests. First of all, you recognize that your partner, or your adversary, or whatever it is has its legal interests. You recognize it, and you expect the same from the other party, that they recognize you also have your legal interests. And if you recognize that, of course you should get together around a table and to discuss it. Thus my...

[Kuznetsov] As time is running out on us, I'd like to ask you my final question. Just I'd like to offer a brief observation concerning those calls to build up conventional weapons. The fact is I'm worried by the fact that the peoples of Western Europe are told that okay, no worry, no problem, no headache, the nukes are disappearing and we're introducing conventional weapons. They are not as dangerous as nuclear ones; but 10 years from now, perhaps even 5 years from now, conventional weapons will be as mighty as perhaps they are approaching in their explosive, disruptive power the nuclear weapons that we are trying to reduce, to cut down, to destroy. And this from the purely military point of view is quite unnerving to me, at least.

[Moloshenko] Well, yes, I would say it's not just from the military point of view, but from the point of view of any society. The contemporary society is so vulnerable that it's not necessary to have nuclear weapons to destroy it completely. If we are talking about Europe, we have about 200 nuclear power stations on the continent. So you can imagine the scope of the possible catastrophe in a case of any war in Europe. So it means that, yes, it's a trick, and as a matter of fact it's nonsense, because the contemporary society is so vulnerable that this type of conventional build-up or (?any) other military build-up is unnecessary and dangerous for the society [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] It's nonsense, I think. Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Sweden, Norway, Federal Germany, and Spain have shown that there are all kinds of trends. There are negative trends showing that the way to a safer climate is very difficult, but there are also favorable trends. And as proof of that I'd like to cite a 2-day six-nation peace summit held in Stockholm, Sweden. And one of their proposals is interesting. It's a call to rely more heavily on the United Nations in many matters, and in particular in verification of compliance of all countries with the treaties. I think this is a favorable trend when such authoritative nations make up the six.

[Bogdanov] And I venture to say that (?again) proves my views on balance of interests, because there is only one body now in the present set-up of the international relations which has that even mechanism to balance interests. That's exactly the United Nations.

[Moloshenko] Well, yes, I agree think that the potential of the United Nations was wasted to a very large degree for the, during these four decades, and it's absolutely meaningless to create another international body, for example. I think so. And it's necessary, of course, to make this organization really workable. It's partly a psychological problem. You should, yes, you should.

[Bogdanov] Let me remind you, friends, that United Nations has very interesting and very promising bodies of peacekeeping. I just would like to remind you.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you very much, gentlemen. Our time is up; it's time to sign off. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host on 'Top Priority.' Thank you very much for being with us. Good-bye till next week, at the same time and on the same wavelength.

United States & Canada

Reagan Gives Annual State of Union Address

LD260736 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—President Reagan Monday delivered a State of the Union address to a joint sitting of the House and the Senate, summing up the results of his administration's activities and setting the agenda for the next year.

Speaking of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, he described it as "historic", adding that it reduced nuclear arms and established the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. The President urged the Senate to ratify the treaty.

Turning to the problem of strategic arms, Reagan said the United States and the Soviet Union were "within reach" of an important agreement to halve their arsenals of such weapons.

But then he went on to say that the "reduction of strategic offensive arms is one step" and SDI, a program for militarizing outer space, was "another". Strategic defenses, Reagan claimed, threatened no-one.

He used the opportunity of addressing Congress to try and muster support for another request for contra aid, which he said would be sent to Capitol Hill on January 27.

Reagan contended that the request for further funding for an undeclared war against the Nicaraguan people reflected a "desire for peace, freedom, and democracy in Nicaragua".

It followed from the President's address that the domestic policies of his administration would remain unchanged.

More on Address, Reactions

LD261111 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports: U.S. President R. Reagan has delivered another "State of the Union" address at a joint session of the two houses of Congress. In it the White House chief reviewed the results of the policy of his administration in the past and announced the aims, including the administration's initiatives on legislation, for his last year in office.

Reagan declared the need to "build a more secure world and reduce the threat of nuclear war" to be one of the highest priorities of his foreign policy. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which was signed recently is of historic importance, he said, because it envisages the reduction of nuclear weapons and the establishment of the most rigorous verification system in the history of arms control, including several forms of inspection without prior notification. Reagan reported that he had presented the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles to the Senate on Monday in order for it to agree to its ratification. I call on the Senate to do this, the President said.

The White House chief pointed out the real possibility of concluding—in addition to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—"an even more important agreement on reducing strategic armaments which will provide for a 50% reduction in U.S. and Soviet long-range or strategic arsenals."

While discussing a "future free of the nuclear horror" the President again extolled the administration's activity in speeding up the "Star Wars" program. "SDI," Reagan said, "has the same task and the same objectives as arms reduction. It reduces the danger of war and the threat to all mankind from nuclear weapons." As is known, implementation of the "Star Wars" program is aimed at the militarization of space, which would not only not be conducive to the reduction or especially the elimination of nuclear weapons but would result in a qualitatively new twist in the arms race.

At the same time Reagan demanded that members of Congress reverse the trend toward halting the buildup in U.S. military expenditure that has taken shape. "We must make an honest assessment of the consequences of this negative trend," he said, "and declare the necessary stability in defense expenditure to be an important task for this and subsequent years." Research by the Washington Center for Defense Information, an authoritative public organization, which has been circulated here, points out that the administration's colossal military spending, amounting to about $2 trillion over the years that it has been in power, has not only failed to bring any closer for the United States the possibility of winning a victory in a nuclear war but has effectively increased the risk to the country's security and has also seriously exacerbated the country's financial problems.

The President confirmed his administration's determination to continue backing "freedom fighters", as the counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia are described in Washington, for, as he declared, "their cause is our cause." As for legislative initiatives in the foreign policy sphere, these—as it emerges from the message and from the White House fact sheets accompanying it—boil down, in particular, to pushing through Congress the next millions of dollars for the Nicaraguan contras, as soon as possible.

In the domestic policy sphere, Reagan attributed to his administration "an economic and social revolution of hope, founded on labor, incentives, growth and favorable opportunities" which allegedly "has restored and revived the American dream." Statements such as these

in no way tie in with the official Labor Department figures, which show that between 1978 and 1987 the level of real wages in the United States fell by 10%; nor with the fact that the number of Americans living below the official poverty level currently exceeds 30 million according to statistics from the public organization, the Council on Economic Priorities.

Commenting on Reagan's message on behalf of the Democratic Party, J. Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives, expressed satisfaction over the work done by the administration in drawing up the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. At the same time he criticized the administration's policy in relation to Nicaragua. Wright underscored that the administration has systematically reduced spending on social needs, yet the country nevertheless is suffering chronic deficits in the federal budget.

R. Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, expressed the opinion that President Reagan sees administration policy and America, "through rose-tinted spectacles." Owing to record budget deficits and deficits in the foreign trade balance, the United States has "yielded up the leading positions in markets throughout the world." The leader of the Democrats in the Senate stressed that the country can no longer go on living on loans.

Touching upon other acute problems of concern to Americans, Byrd said that "the country remains sharply split on the question of policy in Central America." In courtrooms in Washington cases involving abuse of power for mercenary ends keep cropping up. The truest index of a country's national might and potential, the senator commented, is not the number of tanks and missiles but of well-educated children.

As a public opinion poll conducted by the CBS television company jointly with THE NEW YORK TIMES showed, "the majority of Americans oppose aid to the contras." The television company reported: "Fifty-eight percent said they were against giving fresh aid to the contras, while only 30% of those polled said they were in favor. And 40% of those polled also consider the state of the country to have deteriorated considerably in the last 5 years. This is the highest number of pessimists since 1983."

Further on U.S. Senate Hearings on INF Treaty

LD261124 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—TASS Correspondents Igor Borisenko and Aleksandr Lavrentyev report:

The Senate of U.S. Congress started Monday the discussion of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington last December. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz addressed the hearings at the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Frank Carlucci, U.S. defense secretary, and Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke before the Senate Committee on Armed Services. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which will also analyze the treaty, will hold its first closed session later.

Opening the hearings, Senator Claiborne Pell (Democrat, Rhode Island), chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, described the treaty as the first necessary step in the process of reversing the nuclear arms race. He pointed out that their task was to examine the advantages of the treaty which is supported by the American people.

Senator Robert Dole (Republican Kansas), leader of the Republican minority in the Senate who is seeking nomination from the Republican Party as a presidential candidate at the 1988 election, said at the opening of the hearings that he supported the Soviet-American treaty. In his opinion, the treaty meets the interests of the United States, and the Committee on Foreign Relations will recommend the Senate to ratify it. He said that it was a good treaty, the first one providing for an actual elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons. The leader of the Republican minority in the Senate described the treaty as a significant achievement and emphasized that it was just the first step.

A statement of Senator Alan Cranston (Democrat, California) circulated at the hearings said that he believed that it was the vitally necessary first step towards the establishment of more stable relations with Soviet people and with the USSR leaders. He described the Soviet-American treaty as an important start and a ray of hope in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. By ratifying the treaty, he continued, the governments of the two countries can start a process of working out agreements on more significant mutual reductions of their arsenals which are excessively swollen, costly and dangerous.

Alan Cranston warned against the danger of introducing 'amendments' to the treaty which could torpedo it. He said that when working out a resolution on the ratification of the treaty the Senate should avoid any actions that could undermine chances of reaching further arms control agreements. He admitted that it was a difficult thing to achieve. He pointed out in conclusion that they were facing the task of laying the first stone in the foundation of a safer world, a world which both Soviet and American peoples seek to create and which is necessary to them.

John Warner (Republican, Virginia), leader of the Republican group in the Senate Committee on Armed Services, said that the treaty was of historic importance. He emphasized that he had no reason to doubt that it was a good treaty.

U.S. Secretary of State Shultz pointed out in his speech that the INF Treaty consolidated international stability. It can set the beginning of a new period in the arms

control process, when arms reductions are effected. Shultz said that the INF Treaty created precedents which would be useful at the continuing talks on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

At the hearings in the Senate Committee on Armed Services the U.S. Defense secretary and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff expressed hope that the treaty would be ratified by the Senate. At the same time, high-ranking representatives of the administration who came to the Capitol Hill to testify on matters dealing with the treaty emphasized the need for conducting further talks with the Soviet Union "from the position of strength". Frank Carlucci mentioned in his speech the need for a further modernization of the U.S. and NATO Armed Forces.

Levin, Charikov on Debates

LD251944 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Studio talk with Viktor Levin and Igor Charikov]

[Text] [Levin] Today, with the opening of the second session of the U.S. Congress, the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and the Armed Forces are starting hearings on the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States. The hearings in the committees and the discussion in the Senate itself are expected to last until the end of March or beginning of April. According to numerous forecasts based on the pronouncements of a number of senior senators and unofficial polls, the Soviet-U.S. treaty will be ratified. We must hope that the forecasts are correct, and that in the political circles of the United States reason and an understanding of responsibility will prevail in a new approach to solving the problem of arms control. But these hopes—not ours alone—are seriously darkened by incessant reports on the intentions of right-wing forces to torpedo the treaty in Congress, or at the very least to slow down the process that started with its signing. These intentions are already taking on a concrete form, the form of amendments, conditions, and provisos. All this has to be taken into account. We must not close our eyes to the threat from the right.

Today I have invited commentator Igor Charikov to the news studio. He works in our editorial office on U.S. problems, and I put this question to him: Is our optimism excessive? Or, just the opposite, are we exagerating the forces of those opposing the treaty?

[Charikov] My answer to both would be "no", Viktor Nikolayevich. No, our optimism is not excessive, but no one is overestimating the forces of those opposed to the treaty. A preliminary break-down of votes in the Senate goes clearly in favor of those supporting ratification. They are in the majority. But this is by no means the main factor. If you think the fate of the treaty, which is unique in history, is in the hands of a mere 100 people, that is, the members of the Senate, you are not taking into account public opinion in the United States itself—and an overwhelming proportion is in favor of the treaty—and the opinion of political and public circles practically throughout the whole world. Just look at the genuine enthusiasm with which the results of the meeting in Washington were greeted by the people of the whole world.

[Levin] First and foremost the people of Europe, whose continent first of all has to be cleared of weapons of mass destruction.

[Charikov] Absolutely right. So the Soviet-U.S. treaty is certainly in the interests of all countries. Political figures in the United States who can be classed among the realists are aware of this, and they are actively preaching the speedy and unconditional ratification of the treaty. This is not to mention the antiwar movement in the United States, which has played a role in achieving an agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. I think that, however fierce the struggle over the treaty may be—yes, it is a struggle—common sense will prevail.

[Levin] This is the opinion of many of those who follow international events. But those opposed to ratification, as you said yourself, intend to have a battle in the Senate.

[Charikov] Well, you see, they too are estimating their chances pencil in hand, as they say, and can see that they are unlikely to be able to undermine ratification. Their tactics consist of loading the treaty with a collection of unacceptable amendments, whipping up mistrust and suspicion toward the USSR and its future intentions, and complicating the atmosphere at the Geneva talks, where the next steps in arms control are being discussed.

[Levin] That is a strategy, then.

[Charikov] Yes, it is. The opponents of disarmament understand very well that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is merely the first stage, an advance, a breakthrough in the stagnation at the talks, and that it can be followed by agreements on strategic offensive weapons, on nuclear testing, on chemical and conventional weapons; in a word, those very processes which they are hindering. That is why they have reacted with hostility to the first agreement and want to undermine it. But they are in an obvious minority. A rethink of the whole package of relations between the USSR and the United States, first and foremost in the area of nuclear arms limitation, is becoming an irreversible process.

Gerasimov on U.S. F-16s Based in Spain

LD242148 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jan 88

[From the "International Panorama" presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] On the Iberian Peninsula, in addition to the British military base in Gibraltar, there are also U.S. bases, from Franco times. Now, following lengthy negotiations, the United States has agreed to remove 72 F-16

fighter aircraft from Torrejon de Ardoz—not right away, mind you, but over the course of 3 years after the appropriate agreement is concluded—but nevertheless, the United States has agreed. But where can it switch them to? At home, in the United States, there is nothing for them to do, they cannot fly across the ocean, it is too far. According to written reports, however, the United States is planning to transfer the aircraft to Italy, which is a 3,000 km closer to a possible theater of military actions. It is also reported that Italy is worried about this, but is prepared to accept the gift if there is a collective NATO decision on this.

There is another option, that of transferring some of the aircraft to Turkey. Admiral Porta, general secretary of the Italian Ministry of Defense, has flown to Ankara, and Pentagon chief Carlucci intends to go to Rome.

In the meantime, the F-16 fighter aircraft can carry nuclear weapons. And from our viewpoint, all this fuss seems like an attempt at so-called compensation for the missiles eliminated in accordance with the well-known treaty.

There was another strange occurrence during the week. France and the Federal Republic of Germany concluded an agreement on military cooperation, and agreed to set up a German-French brigade of 4,000 men. It turns out that the two countries discovered that they are situated in a single strategic area, as they say. Previously, being situated in that same area, the Germans quite often fought the French. And it is a good thing that they have now stopped doing so. But what military role is being given to the brigade which is being set up? In what language will the commands be given? The United States will probably not be too keen on such an independent initiative—almost partisan activity—on the part of two NATO member countries; Italy certainly was not at all pleased about it. Chancellor Kohl, it is true, sees the formation of the brigade as a step toward the formation of a European army. Plans to that end were energetically worked out back in the fifties, at the height of the Cold War. It is strange to return to this now, for this only exacerbates the military confrontation. Security must be sought jointly. Is any other way possible? Only, probably, for Switzerland, and then only as a curious but hardly edifying exception. In the event of a nuclear catastrophe their organization is hardly likely to help.

U.S. Undermines Central America Peace Efforts

LD252025 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

James Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, has stated in an interview for the ABC television company: Five presidents of Central American countries have called upon President Reagan to stop sending arms into their region, but the President calls this "madness." "If we insist that other peoples observe a peace accord that they have signed," the speaker said, "then we, too, are under an obligation to observe it."

It would seem to be an obvious truth. In the United States, however, despite all common sense, another propaganda campaign has been unleashed in order to show that giving assistance to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries is a necessary prerequisite for establishing peace in Central America. The campaign became particularly active just before official Washington presented to congress the bill extending material assistance to the contras.

The continuation of the policy of support for the counterrevolution in Nicaragua appears particularly unattractive now, when the countries of Central America have virtually embarked upon the path of fulfilling the Guatemala accords which provide for an end to the conflict and the establishment of relations of peace and cooperation in the region. Of particular importance is the fact that the Nicaraguan Government itself has fulfilled the overwhelming majority of the conditions that were contained in the 1986 Guatemala agreement.

While giving assistance to the contra military formations, Washington simultaneously accuses the lawful Nicaragua Government of "aggressive actions." The U.S. Administration is thereby trying to sow distrust and suspicion among neighboring states and to undermine the process of peaceful settlement in the region. By its statements and specific actions, the administration has done and is doing everything possible to torpedo this process and to undermine the very basis of the Guatemala agreement. Despite the call by five presidents to halt assistance to irregular forces operating in the region, the White House never tires of repeating that the United States will not give up support for the contras. This has again been confirmed by Ronald Reagan himself, the President of the United States, addressing people who support continuing assistance to the bands of Nicaraguan contras and who were specially invited to the White House.

In USSR diplomatic circles it is considered that the situation in Central America—and also in the Persian Gulf, the Near East, and other parts of the world—is fraught with unforeseen complications. Regional conflicts can develop into global conflicts if responsible politicians and statesmen do not display the required prudence and do not stop the unfavorable development of events.

Adm Hays on Increased Soviet Might in Pacific

LD251551 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Excerpts] The KYODO NEWS AGENCY reports from Tokyo that Admiral Ronald Hays, commander in chief the U.S. Armed Forces in the region of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, has spoken to U.S. and Japanese soldiers.

He said that the Soviet Union, despite the signed agreement regarding the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, allegedly continues to increase its military power in the Pacific Ocean. Here is a Moscow Radio commentary by Boris Andrianov:

[Andrianov] The U.S. admiral presented no facts to substantiate his statement, probably because they simply do not exist. But what does that matter to the Pentagon representative? After all, it is not the first time that he levels a baseless accusation against the Soviet Union. The purpose of attacks of this sort remains unchanged: to create the appearance of some sort of Soviet military threat in the Asia Pacific region. This time Adm Hays was operating once again with his hackneyed thesis. Why? In order to call for further strengthening of U.S.-Japanese military cooperation and to underscore the extremely important significance which the Pentagon attaches in its plans to the U.S. Armed Forces in Japan. To judge by everyhting, over the ocean they are now paying special attention to this circumstance. Specific facts are proof of this. [passage omitted]

Washington has begun to station intensively in the Pacific region its sea-based Tomahawks, which is being carried out after the U.S.-USSR agreement has been signed regarding the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. I imagine that now it is becoming clear why Adm Ronald Hays presented conjectures to the effect that allegedly it is the Soviet Union that is increasing its military power in the Pacific Ocean.

Culture Minister Zakharov on Upcoming U.S. Trip
LD251353 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—"Soviet-U.S. meeting at top level have become the launching pad to give a new rise to cultural contacts between the USSR and the United States", Vasiliy Zakharov, Soviet culture minister, said in a TASS interview ahead of the Soviet delegation's departure to the United States in conjunction with the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement in the field of culture, technical and education, the first agreement on exchanges. The delegation led by Zakharov includes eminent cultural figures and scientists.

"This memorable date will be widely observed in our countries", Zakharov said. "A meeting to mark the occasion and a concert involving Soviet and American performers will take place in Moscow. And our delegation was invited for a reception given by the U.S. State Department".

On the programme of the Soviet delegation's stay in the United States are meetings with representatives of U.S. state and public organisations to analyze all aspects of Soviet-U.S. cultural ties. "We would like to outline a programme of our further mutual exchanges in the field of science, culture and education, and remove everything that hampers their vigorous development", Zakharov added. The Soviet delegation will take part in the work of a Soviet-U.S. seminar devoted to the cultural exchange.

"We will try to take a look at the future of our relations", the minister said. As for the past, throughout 30 years these contacts were developing unevenly. They were most vigorous and fruitful in the first 20 years starting from 1958. "Regrettably, through the fault of the U.S. side the cultural exchange began eventually resembling a street with one-way traffic, which had an adverse impact on relations between our peoples".

"The importance of cultural cooperation to promoting mutual understanding between countries, to peoples' spiritual rapproachement can hardly be overestimated. Its successful advancement creates the best conditions for movement ahead in Soviet-U.S. relations in the political field, helps overcome stereotypes in thinking. It seems to me that the atmosphere of trust evolved as a result of the cultural exchange helps to a significant extent solve other inter-state issues", the Soviet culture minister said in conclusion.

Arbatov on Bilateral Scientific Cooperation
LD252151 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—TASS Correspondent Inna Zhukova writes:

What will joint Soviet-American industrial enterprises be? This question can be answered by lawyers and economists of the two countries who included this theme into a protocol on the programme of scientific contacts in social and humanitarian sciences which was signed in Princeton, United States, a few days ago.

Soviet Academician Georgiy Arbatov and President of the American Council of Learned Societies Stanley Katz put their signatures to the historical document the way to which had been laid by the Washington summit meeting.

Commenting, in a talk with the TASS correspondent, on the results of his trip to the United States, Georgiy Arbatov, who returned to Moscow last night, highly appreciated the very fact of the protocol having been signed. Arbatov said that the protocol was signed for two years (1988-1989) and said that the protocol provides for appreciable expansion of cooperation between historians, philosophers, sociologists, economists, psychologists, ethnographers.

This is the second Soviet-American joint document on science, signed this year. An agreement on scientific-technological cooperation between the Academies of Sciences of the United States and the Soviet Union was signed in Moscow early in January. "Both documents

provide for about 120 joint projects and also the exchange of scientists and information. There were only 9 joint projects in 1975. Georgiy Arbatov said.

"The expansion of scientific contacts became possible owing to a change in the political climate in the relations between the USSR and the USA. It is not casual that the protocol signed in Princeton includes such areas as contractual and international law, questions of preservation of world peace, problems of disarmament, publication of books on the history of relations between the two states in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Parliamentary Group Departs for U.S. Visit

LD260918 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR parliamentary group headed by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, first deputy chairman of the USSR parliamentary group, departed from Moscow for Washington today at the invitation of the U.S. Congress. Deputies Ivan Kalin, Georgiy Korniyenko, Anatoliy Logunov, Vladimir Lomonosov make up the delegation.

China

Nguyen Van Linh Discusses SRV-PRC Relations

OW241453 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] An international round-table meeting of journalists of the Asia-Pacific Region was convened in Ho Chi Minh City. At a press conference held in the same city in connection with this international meeting, Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, called on Asia-Pacific countries to conduct constructive dialogues to solve the regional issues on the basis of respecting each other's sovereignty and independence.

In answer to reporters' questions, Nguyen Van Linh said that Vietnam welcomes the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, which it believes will prompt the settlement of the Cambodian issue.

In addition, Nguyen Van Linh said: Once again we say affirmatively that we are ready to hold talks with China at any place, at any time, and at any level to normalize the relations between the two countries. This, Nguyen Van Linh stressed, conforms not only to the interests of the two peoples, but also to the interests of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific Region.

Wu Xueqian on Halting Iran-Iraq War

LD232203 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 23 Jan 88

[Text] Beijing January 23 TASS—The People's Republic China supports any proposals and actions promoting the termination of the Iranian-Iraqi war and the restoration of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf area, Wu Xueqian, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and minister of foreign affairs of China, said today at a meeting with 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Hassan al-Shaykh, minister of agriculture and water resources of Saudi Arabia, special representative of King Fahd.

The Saudi minister said that Saudi Arabia regarded with understanding and trust the stand of the People's Republic of China with regard to the Iranian-Iraqi war and hoped that China would take further steps for putting into practice the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. Wu Xueqian and the Saudi minister expressed concern over the continuing war between Iran and Iraq and hope for the restoration of peace in the region in line with the U.N. resolutions.

PRC Interested in Soviet Metal-Working Machines

LD221312 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—TASS correspondent Dmitriy Stepanchenko writes:

Several orders for metal-working machines, press and forging equipment and diamond tools were placed in the USSR by the Chinese foreign trade corporation Machimpex. Soviet machinery will be used to retool Chinese enterprises putting out cars, tractors and agricultural machinery.

In the past two-three years Chinese foreign trade associations and enterprises displayed growing interest in Soviet metal-working machinery. A group of Soviet machine-tool builders and representatives of Soviet foreign trade associations visited China late last year to familiarize themselves with requests of the Chinese side. Delegation members visited industrial enterprises in Harbin, Shanghai and Xian where they described possibilities of Soviet machine-building and prospects for expanding trade and economic relations between the two countries at meetings with Chinese specialists. An exposition of Soviet metal-working machinery to be mounted by the USSR Ministry of Machine-Tool Building and Instrument-Making in China this autumn will serve the same purpose.

Cultural Ties Promote Understanding

OW241542 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Excerpts] An important aspect of Soviet-Chinese relations at present is the expanded cultural ties between the two countries. The expansion of cultural ties is shown by

the progress in publication cooperation between the Soviet Union and China. The two countries are expanding their cultural ties in order to promote mutual understanding between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

The Soviet Union has published many books about Chinese history, economy, and culture and many books by Chinese writers and poets. For a long time, it did not publish the speeches and works of famous state and party leaders of the People's Republic of China. The situation has changed and the relations between the two countries have been gradually improving. With the increased contacts between the Soviet Union and China, the Soviet people have felt the need to know something about the leaders of the two countries. In order to meet this demand, we have published LIAOWANG's interview with Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In particular, we like to point out that China will soon publish Gorbachev's book on reform and new thinking in the Soviet Union. The Soviet journal KOMMUNIST published in its first issue of 1988 an article by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Another event in this respect is the publication in the Soviet Union of Deng Xiaoping's book entitled Principal Issues Concerning Present-Day China. [passage omitted]

A ceremony was held in Moscow a few days ago to introduce Deng Xiaoping's book to the public. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

U.S.-Japan Near 'Secret' Technology Accord

LD211320 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 11 TASS—Japan and the United States have reached understanding in principle on concluding a secret agreement on the exchange of so-called dual-purpose technology. In accordance with a draft agreement, it will be prohibited to Japanese companies to use in civilian production the technology and patents 'connected with national security', the KYODO TSUSHIN news agency reports.

A special department is being created at the National Defense Agency of Japan that will register the developments and patents which, in the opinion of the U.S. Department of Defense, should be classified. Washington insists on the signing of the agreement because of a perceptible expansion of the spheres of Japanese-American cooperation in the sphere of military technology.

KYODO TSUSHIN pointed out with reference to the U.S. weekly DEFENSE NEWS that consultations on the working out of the agreement had been going on since 1986 in conditions of secrecy because Tokyo was afraid of a sharp political reaction of the Japanese public. Japanese business circles fear that the classifying of scientific development would undermine their position in the world high technology market. The U.S. which demands the concluding of the agreement as soon as possible decided to suspend all other talks with Japan on technology exchanges. The 'junior partner' had to make concessions. By today the content of the classified document has been practically coordinated. However, Japan insists that it should be signed after the approval by parliament of a draft state budget for the next year. The government is afraid that the new agreement with the Pentagon will evoke even more emphatic protests of the opposition which opposes a further growth of military spending envisaged by the draft budget.

Kawara's U.S. Visit Against World Trend

OW241516 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] The director general of the Japanese Defense Agency left on a visit to the United States on 15 January. Our commentator on military affairs Kalinin writes:

In an interview with TOKYO SHIMBUN prior to his departure, Defense Director General Kawara said that his planned talks with high officials of the Pentagon and other U.S. Government agencies would focus on developments in the Far East. How does he view those developments? Frankly speaking, his view is very unique.

In his view, the signing of the USSR-U.S. INF elimination treaty has brought no change in the military situation in Asia. This would very well prompt one to ask the folowing question: Is the USSR-planned elimination of its missiles in the Asian region so insignificant after all that it is not even worth discussing? We recall that it was not too long ago that the Japanese Government desperately tried to characterize the Soviet missiles as a major destabilizing factor in the Far East. Now these missiles are destined to be scuttled, but Japan is pretending that nothing has happened.

Furthermore, Kawara declared in the interview that a Soviet military buildup is now taking place in the Far East. Although his view may sound illogical, it is not actually. It is symbolic, says a comment in SANKEI SHIMBUN, of the logic representing the strata of people who believe that the deepening of a mood for peace is detrimental to the interests of the West. Indeed, attempts are being made to underestimate the significance of the INF elimination treaty, intimidate public opinion with fabrications of the so-called Soviet threat, and justify the Japanese policy line of seeking a military buildup of its own.

Judging from all facts, negotiations between Japanese and U.S. defense chiefs are based on these factors. In the course of their negotiations, Japanese newspapers report, Kawara is prepared to reaffirm Japan's resolve to implement the current 5-year military buildup program and its

commitment to upgrading military cooperation with the United States. In this connection, he will make it clear that his government is ready to pay larger shares of the military spending and U.S. forces costs in Japan. Scheduled to be discussed are plans to upgrade Japanese and U.S. military installations. It is also reported that they will discuss Japan's participation in the so-called U.S. balanced technology initiative, which is for developing substantially new conventional weapons in preparation for the coming scuttling of the intermediate- and short-range missiles. As is already known, the Defense Agency has shown a positive response to the U.S. initiative.

An expansion of the scale of Japan-U.S. joint military preparations is likely to be discussed, too. Kawara is scheduled to visit the U.S. Pacific Command in Hawaii on his way to Washington. Representatives of that command will attend the apparently provocative command post exercise "Yamazakura [wild cherry blossoms] No 13" beginning on 19 January in Hokkaido close to the Soviet borders.

From all this, we can draw this conclusion: The purpose of the Defense Agency director's U.S. visit this time runs counter to the world trend of detente.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further on Hun Sen-Sihanouk Talks in France

BK210226 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Vladimir Korolev commentary]

[Text] During their first meeting in December, Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk discussed issues related to the solution of the Cambodian problem. What is the path toward this solution? According to the opinion of the Cambodian people, peace is needed primarily to overcome the conflict of ideas. This is possible only through negotiation. The government has made an appeal to the people in an attempt to reach this aim. In this connection, the government has put forth a national reconciliation program that calls on compatriots living abroad for whatever reason to return to their fatherland. The program also plans to withdraw the Vietnamese Army volunteers, form a coalition government, and hold a universal election. Phnom Penh has called for a dialogue with the Cambodian opposition groups in order to discuss these issues.

During their meeting in Fere-en-Tardenois, a small town in France, Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk discussed ways of reaching a solution to the Cambodian problem. They successfully settled various major matters. It was noted in their joint communique that the Cambodian problem must be resolved through negotiation with the participation of the parties concerned with this matter. The communique called on representatives of the other Cambodian opposition groups to participate in the talks between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. They also called for an international conference on the problem of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

It is true that since their first meeting, each side has been waiting for all Cambodian factions to eradicate all obstacles to advance toward settling their differences. There is a proverb which says: The future success depends on the first step of action.

Meeting Makes 'Headway'

BK240316 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 23 Jan 88

[Vladimir Korolev commentary]

[Text] The second round of talks between Comrade Hun Sen,head of the PRK Government and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk has just ended in Saint-German-en-Laye on the outskirts of Paris. Concerning this matter, our commentator, Comrade Vladimir Korolev, writes:

Although the two sides have the same intention, they could not settle the Cambodian problem instantaneously. This problem is very complicated. However, one irrefutable point is that since the birth of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the new regime has become more and more stable.

The PRK Government presently controls all of Cambodia. There have been sufficient conditions for a political solution to all problems.

Gaining experiences from the first meeting, Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk this time made great headway toward reaching a solution to the Cambodian problem. The two sides agreed on such issues as the future political system in Cambodia. Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk agreed on holding general elections in the country under international supervision.

Concerning the formation of a coalition government, they have agreed that it is imperative to elect genuine representatives of the Cambodian people to work for the progress of Cambodia.

During their talk, they also discussed the timetable for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Volunteer Army. This army will be totally repatriated within 24 months after an agreement on a political solution is reached between the Cambodian factions. At the same time, they also proposed the holding of an international conference to guarantee this solution to the Cambodian problem.

During this talk, Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk were able to reach agreement on many issues despite having different stands on some issues.

Speaking to journalists, the head of the PRK Government said: Generally speaking, I am pleased with the outcome of the talk.

The two sides agreed to continue their talks.

Hun Sen on Results

LD212123 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 21 TASS—Correspondent Viktor Khrekov writes:

The second round of talks between the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, minister of foreign affairs of the PRK Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk ended today in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, a suburb of Paris.

"We are satisfied on the whole with the outcome of the second round" Hun Sen told the TASS correspondent. "A new big step forward has been made in the search of ways of a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea and around it. The conversations were very fruitful and productive. They concerned five major topics—the schedule of the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, the prospect of creating a coalition government, the political future of Kampuchea, Kampuchea's status in the international arena, as well as the problem of international guarantees to ensure a peaceful settlement".

"On agreement with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam we proposed a plan for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers in the course of 24 months after the attainment of an agreement by the Kampuchean sides on the political settlement. As to the problem of creating a coalition government. Prince Sihanouk suggested the dissolution of the present Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the creation of a provisional coalition government. But we regard this proposal as unwarranted and inequitable", Hun Sen went on. "The present government of the people's Republic of Kampuchea effects control over the entire territory of the country and has the trust of the people. The other forces have failed in the course of nine years to achieve any whatsoever results, to establish firm control over any area. For as long as the armed forces of the Pol Pot grouping are not removed, it poses a danger and there exists the prospect of a return of the 'Khmer Rouge' in the event of a dissolution of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The existence of the PRK is necessary also for the maintenance of firm public order. We set forth a compromise proposal on the preservation of the status quo and the creation of a multilateral committee for the holding of general elections. At the same time we reserved the right to attentively study Sihanouk's proposal on the creation of a provisional bilateral government".

"At the present meeting the positions of the sides did not coincide on a number of problems. Yet accord was reached on many other questions. This concerns first of all the political future of our country. We were unanimous with Sihanouk on the multiparty system, the holding of general elections to the national assembly under international control and the subsequent drafting of the Constitution. It is the Khmer people, its elected representatives who should make their own choice concerning the country's political future. We have also reached mutual agreement on the international status of Kampuchea as an independent, neutral and nonaligned state, and also on international guarantees to ensure the political settlement. We proposed that after the Kampuchean sides achieve a political settlement there should be convened a representative international conference of the type of the Geneva one to ensure international guarantees. We also proposed to create after that an international control commission that could be headed by India", Hun said said further in the TASS interview.

"To ensure a favourable climate we also reached agreement to refrain from public criticism and mutual charges. Norodom Sihanouk solemnly pledged to discontinue all critical statements".

"We agreed to continue the talks. The next round will be held late in April in Pyongyang, then in France, and after that in Delhi", Hun Sen stressed. "The continuation of the dialogue is very important for the attainment of a political settlement in Kampuchea and this will make a contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Southeast Asia and in the whole world", the leader of the People's Republic of Kampuchea said in conclusion.

Fedorov on Foreign Reaction

OW261135 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Fedorov commentary]

[Text] Hun Sen, head of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] Government, and Prince Sihanouk will hold their second meeting in France on 20 January. The Cambodian premier made a brief stop [in New Delhi] en route to France, where he held talks with Indian Prime Minister Gandhi on bilateral relations and the Cambodian issue. On this, our station commentator Fedorov writes the following commentary:

The current relationship between Phnom Penh and New Delhi can be called friendly, as it has developed in a positive direction and achieved fruitful results. India has acknowledged the young PRK's achievements in stabilizing the domestic situation, which have enhanced Cambodia's international position. Effective assistance given by India in various areas has helped the Cambodian people overcome difficulties caused by the Pol Pot clique and accelerated the economic, cultural, and social development of Cambodia.

There is an important aspect in Indian-Cambodian relations. India has given complete support to the PRK Government's policy of national reconciliation and political dialogue to resolve all problems in the country. India played a major role in preparing and organizing the dialogue of the various parties of Khmer, that began with

the meeting between Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk on 2 December last year. In my opinion, India, a leading nonaligned nation with high international prestige, can continue to play the important role in various stages following the dialogue and give necessary support to all parties concerned.

By and large, the development of the situation, that is, international support for the Hun Sen-Sihanouk meeting, has appeared rather smooth so far to people who favor the settlement of the Cambodian question. The Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community have approved the initial results of the meeting. In organizing the second-stage meeting, France has played a constructive role. Chinese leaders have approved Prince Sihanouk's participation in the meeting, but with (?reservation). The International Committee on the Cambodian Question has also called for continuation of the meeting. However, it [as heard] used to interfere in Cambodia's internal affairs. The head of the PRK Government reiterated a few days ago that interference in the affairs of all parties of Khmer can impede the progress of their dialogue. In a letter to the United Nations secretary general, he once again stressed that the Cambodian question must be resolved by the Cambodian people themselves on the basis of national reconciliation.

Near East & South Asia

Smirnov at UN on Need for Middle East Conference

LD222136 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 22 (TASS)—Coming meetings of the U.N. Security Council, to discuss the situation in Israel-occupied Arab territories, can become a forum at which preparation for an international conference on the Middle East could be started and its mechanism could be set in motion. USSR deputy permanent representative at the United Nations S. Smirnov said this at a press conference here today. He said that a letter of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to the United Nations secretary-general calls for starting without delay in the United Nations framework consultations to discuss questions of the convocation of such a conference. The conclusions drawn during the consultations and recommendations made could be discussed at a meeting of the Security Council at foreign ministers level.

The Soviet representative said that the international community comes to realise increasingly the need for an early political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and expresses the ever growing support for the idea of convening such a conference. All sides concerned should take part in it.

Jordan Approves New Soviet Middle East Proposal

LD242123 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Amman January 24 TASS—Jordan hails and backs the Soviet proposal on holding a meeting of the U.N. Security Council at a level of foreign ministers to work out ways for convening an international conference on the Middle East. A special statement by the Jordan news agency PETRA says that the country's government regards the Soviet proposal as fully conforming to the Arab stand worked out at the Amman summit and considers it a serious and effective move giving an impetus to peace efforts.

Lebanon's Junblatt Lauds Soviet Mideast Stance

LD251352 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Beirut, 25 Jan (TASS)—Walid Junblatt, chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party [PSP] of Lebanon, has stated in an interview with the Sawt al-Sha'b radio station that the visit to the USSR by a PSP delegation was an important step on the road to consolidating the positions of the country's patriotic forces. "We fully support the point of view of our Soviet comrades, who are urging that the division of Lebanon be prevented and the country's unity be preserved," he said. "Our meetings in the CPSU Central Committee and our conversations with representatives of the Soviet public confirmed our unity of views on the most pressing problems."

"The visit," continued W. Junblatt, "took place at a crucial moment. The demonstrations in the occupied territories have shown that the Arab people of Palestine reject Israeli diktat. It is now urgent to set up an independent Palestinian state and solve the Near East problem through an international conference. Life has shown that Israel's plans, which are supported by U.S. imperialism and throw down a challenge to democracy, civilization, and justice, have failed completely.

The chairman of the PSP spoke highly of the USSR's steadfast support of the Arab cause, and described that support as "historic".

'Arafat Addresses Arab League Special Session

LD241110 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Tunis January 24 TASS—Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasir 'Arafat has called upon the Arab countries to take concrete steps to help the Palestinian population of the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip who rose in rebellion against the Israeli occupation.

Speaking at the opening of the special session of the Foreign Ministers of the League of Arab states, he stated the need for urgent convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis, with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. 'Arafat criticized the policy of the United States—Israel's strategic ally which renders all-round support and assistance to Tel Aviv. He highly appreciated the USSR's stand on

the Middle East settlement and underlined the important role of the Soviet initiatives aimed at establishing durable, comprehensive and fair peace in the region.

Special Session Ends

LD242208 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Tunis January 25 TASS—A special session of the Foreign Ministers Council of the Arab League member countries held at the initiative of Libya to discuss the situation on the occupied arab territories, ended its work in the Tunisian capital on Sunday.

In an adopted resolution its participants unanimously declared their support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate national rights under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. They denounced reprisals and terror by invaders and Tel Aviv's policy of forced deportation of Palestinians from Arab lands and establishment by Israel of settlements on occupied territories.

The League's member states took an obligation to render financial aid to the Palestinian people in their struggle. They recided to set up a special committee to draft a plan of joint actions of Arab countries and implementation of contacts with the U.N. and other international organizations for convening an international conference on the Middle East.

The session called on the Security Council to take measures to make Israel end the occupation of Arab territories and the policy of genocide against the Palestinian people.

Destroyer Crew Serving in Gulf Applauded

PM221045 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Political worker Captain 2d Rank L. Maslodudov report: "Steadfast"]

[Text] For several months now the destroyer Stoykiy [Steadfast] has been carrying out tasks to protect peaceful shipping in the Persian Gulf. Its mission is taking place in the difficult conditions of the "tanker war" which has gripped not only Iranian but also international territorial waters. The crew is demonstrating courage, restraint, and steadfastness in this situation.

Recently the Stoykiy escorted two of our tankers through the Strait of Hormuz. They had only just entered the Persian Gulf when they immediately found themselves in an exceptionally difficult situation: A British convoy was moving toward them followed by several other NATO ships, with an Iranian frigate a bit further away. In accordance with international maritime law, Captain 3rd Rank M. Volk exchanged essential information with them to avoid any kind of misunderstanding on moving off. But one of the high-speed targets did not answer any inquiries. It rushed closer. This was at night, so it was impossible to identify the target. Eventually, with a night vision device, they saw a missile cutter with a mounted gun aimed at one of the Soviet tankers cutting across their path. The situation in general was typical of the Persian Gulf, but each time it requires exceptional restraint and courage from the commander in making a decision.

Captain 3d Rank M. Volk, who was at the helm, pulled at the lever of the engine room telegraph, and the ship moved decisively toward the cutter, interposing itself to protect the tanker. With a signal lamp they kept signaling to the cutter: "I am a Soviet ship. Your course will lead to danger." Finally the cutter turned sharply away. Everyone standing on the bridge breathed a sigh of relief. But there was no time for the commander to slacken. The radar detected new targets on the course ahead.

It is not easy for the other members of the crew either. I recall one of the September trips. It was particularly hot in the Persian Gulf at that time, and the temperature in the engine room reached 70-80 degrees. It is difficult even to imagine how it is possible to be on watch for several hours in these conditions. Yet it is common for seamen to be on continuous trips for weeks. Not everyone is able to cope with this physically. There were occasions when people lost consciousness from dehydration. And on this trip the ship's doctor discharged several people from the watch to give them a rest. Periodically spraying themselves with sea water from the fire hose (which, incidentally, was 35 degrees above zero), the remaining seamen, mainly Communists and officers, stayed on watch. Senior Lieutenant Vladimir Grigoryev, chief traffic routing officer, particularly distinguished himself at that time: He carried out the duties of several specialists at once.

The lookout men are particularly at risk. There are plenty of mines in the Persian Gulf. Some of them are "adrift"—that is, they have torn away from their sinkers and drift with the currents. It is very difficult to see them in the water, particularly at night. This is the job of the lookout, who is on watch in the forecastle, as they say, face to face with the mine danger. The best lookout on the Stoykiy, Petty Officer 1st Class Kh. Khakimullyan, who has voluntarily extended his service, has already seen several dozen objects looking like mines, many of them at night. It can be said without exaggeration: His sharp sight, responsibility, and steadfastness when on watch have more than once prevented the ship and the vessel under escort from meeting with "a fatal impact."

Many such examples can be cited. The seamen of the Stoykiy, as they say in our detachment, are operating in the Persian Gulf in a manner befitting a guards regiment. And this is understandable. This ship inherited the name of the guards destroyer Stoykiy which won everlasting glory in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

Historical information: At the beginning of the war the destroyer Stoykiy made three trips from Leningrad to the Hanko Peninsula and back to Leningrad, ensuring the evacuation of the heroic garrison in the most difficult combat conditions. During the blockade of Lenin's city it became a powerful floating fort, destroying dozens of enemy tanks, aircraft, personnel. On 4 April 1942 the Stoykiy was one of the first ships in the Navy to have the honorific "guards" added to its name.

On the trip to the Persian Gulf, the crew of the present Stoykiy vowed to operate in true frontline fashion and to win the right to inherit the "guards" title.

The command of the detachment of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean highly assesses the Stoykiy's contribution to protecting peaceful shipping. It has applied for the veteran ship's guards flag to be transferred to this crew. The veterans' soviet of the guards destroyer Stoykiy has been proposing this to various authorities for a long time. But the question has still not been resolved. It is not clear when it will be resolved. One thing is clear: The Stoykiy seamen will not let them down, they will carry on operating in true guards fashion.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Stops Over in Tripoli

LD252313 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2020 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Tripoli, 25 Jan (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Arnold Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is on its way to the Republic of Ghana, made a short stop in Tripoli. The delegation was met at the international airport in the Libyan capital by 'Abd al-Raziq al-Sawsa, deputy general secretary of the General People's Congress of the Libyan Jamahariyah.

During the conversation, the head of the Soviet delegation spoke about the influence on the international situation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. In signing this treaty, he stressed, the Soviet Union proceeded from the need to begin taking action to curb the nuclear danger, which threatens all peoples on earth.

Al-Sawsa highly appreciated Soviet efforts to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe. He also expressed satisfaction at the traditionally friendly Libyan-Soviet relations and called for the development of interparliamentary ties between the two countries.

UN's Diego Cordovez Cited on Afghan Talks

LD232154 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 23 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 23 TASS—Today Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, arrived in Kabul to discuss issues pertaining to a settlement of the Afghanistan situation. In a statement to journalists he said, inter alia, that another round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva should become, in all probability, the last one. He drew such a conclusion after a series of consultations with representatives of all sides interested in a settlement of the Afghanistan situation. In conclusion D. Cordovez expressed the hope for a successful completion of consultations with the Afghan leadership.

Meets With Najibullah

PM261041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kabul"]

[Text] Kabul, 25 Jan—Afghan President Najibullah has received D. Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN secretary general, who has come to Kabul to hold consultations on the resumption of the talks in Geneva. At the meeting there was a discussion of problems concerning the process of the settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan.

Najibullah drew D. Cordovez' attention to Afghanistan's unvarying position on the normalization of the situation and the safeguarding of peace in the region. Telling the UN secretary general's personal representative about the results of the first year of the implementation of the national conciliation policy in Afghanistan, the president stressed that this policy is aimed at establishing lasting peace in the country and at normalizing the situation around it. Najibullah stated that the Afghan delegation at the talks with Pakistan will continue after their renewal to adhere to a position of good will and sensible compromises, aiming for their successful completion and the adoption of fundamental decisions.

Afghan Foreign Minister 'A. Wakil was also present at the talk.

BAKHTAR agency reports that talks continued between D. Cordovez and 'A. Wakil on the settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan and the setting of the date for the resumption of the talks in Geneva.

PRAVDA Dispatch From Qandahar Battle Zone

PM221221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent Colonel P. Studenikin dispatch: "From the Afghan Notebook. These Hot, Difficult Trips..."]

[Text] Qandahar-Kabul—It recently became known that the working people of Alma-Ata Oblast have established direct patronage ties with Qandahar. Moscow has taken Kabul under its patronage and Minsk has taken on Konarha Province.... This is a new form of cooperation between our peoples, the object of which is to offer aid to the provinces of Afghanistan in rehabilitating the

national economy, which has been destroyed by the war. The people of Alma-Ata, for instance, have sent food and necessities worth R2 million to Qandahar. I managed to visit Qandahar last fall....

Two years ago, people say, it was impossible to travel in a convoy from Kushka to Qandahar without meeting gunfire. I do not know, for I was not allowed to use this route last time and reached Kabul from Termez via Salang. But we traveled from Kushka to Qandahar in 5 days, and there was not a single shot.

What do I remember of these 5 days? Not a lot: There was alarming news in the Kushka garrison of a possible attack by a large gang of dushmans on one of the border kolkhozes; near Farah I was saddened to recognize a ruined house with a dried-up garden — 2 years ago battles were waged here (Major S. Porotikov, flying his MI-24, attacked a dushman heavy machine gun, which, according to the gunner's data, was installed in this house. Suddenly we saw a small girl desperately waving a white handkerchief in the yard. On that occasion disaster was avoided.... But as can be seen, not for long). What happened to this girl? I do not know. In Delaram we came under fire during a stop and a shell exploded alongside the armored personnel carrier — fortunately, there were no casualties....

Yes, there were many incidents en route, but I close my eyes and once again I can almost physically feel the 60-degree heat, the wind, and the undulating clouds of acrid white dust and can see them drifting past the shells of burned-out tankers, tanks, and armored personnel carriers. The closer we came to Qandahar, the more we saw.

I visited Qandahar 7 years ago. The situation then was difficult: Our vehicles were put out of action in the city in broad daylight, and now and then furious firing flared up unexpectedly.... Qandahar is, incidentally, the only province where they have simply been unable to create national reconciliation commissions. They say: "He who controls Qandahar, controls Afghanistan." Therefore the struggle in this region is fiercer and more uncompromising than in any other province.

Nonetheless, today's Qandahar exceeded all of my expectations, which, to be honest, were not very optimistic. Seven years ago we drove into the city in armored cars singed by explosions after 2 weeks on the Pakistani border. That march was difficult: Vehicles were blown up by mines and land mines, we felt keenly the death of our boys, we fell into an ambush three times and spent the whole night beating off dushmans after organizing perimeter defenses. But cleanliness, throngs of people, the jingle of decorated horse cabs, and the happy noise of children greeted us in Qandahar.

You begin to sense acutely the tension of the current situation while you are still a good way off: We did not manage to reach the city before 1600 hours — we spent the night in the desert some 20 km away. But the following day the column was allowed to enter the city on one condition: Each vehicle had to enter separately at 500 meter intervals and at maximum speed. Individual vehicles tore along at a furious speed as if along a corridor of fire.

"For a long time many of the guys will have unpleasant memories of these hot difficult journeys, and especially the 'Qandahar gate'," Guards Captain Vladimir Ponomarev, the head of the column, said. "Our blood is on this road."

What has happened to Qandahar? The highway is badly damaged, the city is covered in dust, like a milky fog, many blocks have been destroyed, and there are very few people on the streets. As I later found out, the population of Qandahar has fallen in these years by almost 50%.

The next day, political officer Nikolay Chaban and I drove out in an armored personnel carrier escorted by a tank to "pay courtesy calls." We dropped in on the headquarters of an Afghan unit; there was no one left that we knew, of course. There was firing all around: Somewhere quite nearby tanks were thumping and heavy machine guns were rattling. I knew from the newspapers that heavy fighting had been going on for almost 2 months in Qandahar Province, and a few days previously I had read in a newspaper about the "latest total" rout of the dushman gangs. The battles, however, continued: Blockaded in the suburbs by Soviet and Afghan subdivisions, the dushmans tried brazenly to infiltrate the city in broad daylight.

However, no one in the city reacted to the firing: Sentries at the gate ate melons, little children rushed to school, and women assembled in the courtyard of the PDPA Provincial Committee building for a methodological seminar. The atmosphere in the committee is emphatically businesslike. Comrade A. Nabi [name as published], the first secretary, received us. I was told that he has great authority not only among party comrades and the local population but also in the rebel ranks, and is making a large contribution to the cause of national reconciliation and the stabilization of the situation. He regularly holds meetings and conversations with village elders, tribe leaders, and the ringleaders of bandit groups and bandit units. His father and elder brother live in Pakistan and are millionaires. They want him to join them, but he cannot leave his motherland at such a difficult time.

We were brought tea—real Indian tea. Nabi does not hide his concern: An operation is under way, and therefore the servicemen in the combat zone have cut off the water. The harvest is withering in the fields and gardens are drying up. You can also understand the servicemen: If they flood the vineyards even a tank cannot get through.

"A complex situation," Nabi said. "Following the announcement of national reconciliation, the counter-revolution did not cease armed activity but, on the contrary, stepped it up. Bombardment of military garrisons and attacks on vehicle columns have become appreciably more frequent. Yes, the struggle has become fierce, but the people are tired of war. The casualties inflicted have been tremendous: Qandahar has been 60 percent destroyed, many people have died or gone to Pakistan or other provinces, and people don't have enough to eat.... We are obliged—the sooner the better—to embark upon national reconciliation...."

From the provincial committee we drove to the Ministry of State Security Directorate. It is still located in the house of a millionaire smuggler who has fled abroad, but it has recently been refitted and now shows all the more clearly the bullet holes on the freshly painted walls. In the office of Tadzhmamad [name as transliterated], chief of the directorate, the ceiling has been almost plowed up with machine-gun bullets.

"Yesterday's present from the dushmans," Tadzhmamad smiled.

He is still very young, but has behind him years of struggle in the backwoods, then in Kabul, and now, since March, in Qandahar. Several attempts have been made on his life here. He was shot at in the afternoon from almost pointblank range. They have threatened to kill his daughter, upon whom he dotes.

Somewhere not very far away, desperate firing once again flares up. Tadzhmamad takes us over to the window:

"This is how we live." He fell silent for a little while, as if listening to the sounds of the battle nearby, and then said thoughtfully: "No, we won't let them into the city...." To represent more precisely the situation which has emerged in the south of Afghanistan, I will cite excerpts from some Afghan reports.

"....By and large, all categories of the population agree with the policy of national reconciliation, but everyone is afraid that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan the authorities will be unable to defend those strata of the population which support it.

"Traders want peace and are dissatisfied with the large taxes which they have to pay the rebels...

"Peasants want the hostilities to end. They will pay taxes to anyone, provided there is no killing and no blood. They carry out the rebels' wishes out of fear...."

"Out of 6,245 populated areas in 33 counties and 8 districts in the Provinces of Qandahar, Sistan, Oruzgan, and Hilmend, only 482 villages are under the partial control of people's power, a total of 7.7 percent...."

"...Instances of terrorist acts against Afghan citizens and servicemen have become more frequent. Abdul Razak [name as published], who was to head the province's national reconciliation commission, and his deputy Abib [name as published] have been abducted.

"A session of the Islamic United Court chaired by Fasal has sentenced to death all the members of the province's national reconciliation commission...."

"A women's terrorist group is operating in Qandahar and is tasked with physically destroying Afghan officials and Soviet servicemen..."

Comrade Tadzhmamad was urgently summoned to the provincial committee; he took his leave of us, and a Mercedes leaped through the gate followed by two Toyotas carrying guards. N. Chaban and I set out for the observation command post in the combat area. Tank guns, mortars, and heavy machine guns boomed, but a calm businesslike atmosphere reigned at the command observation post. I was pleased that Commander V. Nikulin did not needlessly hassle the commanders of the subdivisions who were now fighting in the "green zone" [area under dushman control]. Every officer here knew his job and did it without shouting and fuss. Viktor Anatolyevich immediately agreed to my going to join a ground assault subdivision which was blockading the dushmans on the outskirts of Qandahar, but I was categorically forbidden to spend the night there.

Once again we went right back across the city, then left the highway and entered a narrow street in a suburban village. We skirted a burned-out tank and crossed a small clover field and suddenly, about 10 meters ahead, we saw a line of soldiers in helmets and bulletproof vests lying in hurriedly dug trenches. This was also the vanguard. Nearby a camouflaged command car stood in the shelter of a mud wall. We did not hear the mine in flight; It hit the adobe wall and all the fragments from the explosion hit Private Konstantin Tunchik from Brest Oblast, who was standing by the car, in the chest. Death was instantaneous. Yet another mother has lost a son...

Officer V. Dunayev took us to cover.

"The dushmans are about 300 meters from here," he reported. "They are trying to force their way into Qandahar but we are not letting them. We are employing perimeter defenses. They have a base camp here: Weapons convoys come here and the weapons are shared out among the gangs. They are trying to dislodge us. No, they will not succeed...."

"The dushmans are approaching," one of the subordinates reports.

"Get the people out of the way and advance" the commander ordered. He explained to us: "The sun is setting. They'll come soon. You timed your visit all wrong! It's time to take up positions, I've been ordered to send you back. No, no, I'll call some people here...."

And here they sit on shell crates, smiling in confusion. Senior Guards Sergeant Valeriy Dmitriyev, a former school teacher and now deputy platoon commander, from the village of Chekhurovka in Voronezh Oblast, has been awarded the medal "For Bravery." He has not missed a single combat operation and is reliable in battle. Nikolay Shatilin from the village of Zhilino in Altay Kray was wounded and awarded the Order of the Red Star.... The lads are calm and talk little about themselves.

Of course, the situation also has an effect: In a few minutes they will return to their trenches and I will be thrown a bulletproof vest and bundled into an armored personnel carrier, and the battalion commander will breathe a sigh of relief when our armored personnel carrier is finally hidden from view. But at the moment the lads insistently ask me to write that everything is fine with them. Service is going normally!...

... When we returned to camp, we learned the bad news: An aircraft had been shot down while attempting to land, and there were dead and wounded.

Rebels Fail To Take Gardeyz-Khowst Road Post

PM211433 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[D. Meshchaninov dispatch: "Afghanistan: Battle at Height 3234. Soviet Troops Serving at One of the Posts in the Area of the Gardeyz-Khowst Highway Repulsed 12 Rebel Attacks"]

[Text] The situation around Khowst is gradually normalizing. Motor vehicle convoys with freight for the peaceful inhabitants are arriving here daily from Gardeyz.

All this, however, does not mean that the counterrevolution has resigned itself to a major defeat. In recent days, armed dushman units have frequently tried to take out fortified Afghan and Soviet posts set up on strategically important heights to protect the area of the Gardeyz-Khowst highway from rebel infiltration. The fiercest clash took place around the height designated 3234 on the map...

1530 hours. Several dozen rockets were launched against the height controlled by Senior Lieutenant V. Gagarin's platoon. Firing from rocket launchers, mortars, and recoilless guns began simultaneously from three sides. Taking advantage of the safe "dead ground" behind rocky outcrops, a large detachment of rebels was able to come within 200 meters of the Soviet post.

1610 hours. Under cover of massive fire and with cries of "Allah-Akbar!" the rebels rushed into the attack from two directions They were all dressed in black uniforms with rectangular black, yellow, and red stripes on the sleeves. Their actions were coordinated by radio. Fifty minutes later the attack had been repulsed: 10-15 dushmans dead, and approximately 30 wounded.

1735 hours. The second rebel attack came this time from a third direction. It was repulsed by the men of Senior Lieutenant Rozhkov's platoon, which was moving up to reinforce the post on height 3234. At the same time Senior Lieutenant A. Smirnov's reconnaissance platoon was approaching it with munitions supplies. It was clear that the rebels had been set the task of capturing the strategically important height at any cost, that the battle for it had been planned in advance and was well organized, and that we were dealing here with an excellently trained armed gang.

1910 hours. The third and most audacious attack began. Under massive covering fire from machine guns and rocket launchers, the rebels, with no concern for losses, launched an all-out assault. The Soviet troops' competent and resolute actions once again enabled them to repulse the enemy. Dragging the dead and wounded behind them, the bandits went down the slope behind the mountain ridge. A radio intercept was received at this time: The heads of the counterrevolution from Peshawar thanked the commander of the rebel "regiment" for taking the height. The congratulations were premature. Despite desperate attempts, they simply did not succeed in capturing it.

From 2000 hours until 0300 hours the following day, yellowish helicopters took the dead and wounded off in the direction of Pakistan and brought in munitions and reinforcements for the rebels, who were continuing their incessant attacks. There were another nine of them. The last, the 12th, was the most desperate, when the enemy managed to get within 50 meters of the post and, in individual areas, within 10-15 meters.

Sr Lt Smirnov's reconnaissance platoon arrived at the critical moment, joining the fighting as it moved in and conclusively deciding its outcome in favor of the Soviet servicemen. When help arrived, each of the defenders of the post on height 3234 had less than one magazine with rounds left. The post did not have a single rocket left.

When dawn broke, recoilless guns, machine guns, mortars, rocket launchers, mercury offensive grenades, and submachine guns of British manufacture abandoned by the rebels were found on the battlefield.

...Every day the convoys deliver freight from Gardeyz for the peaceful inhabitants of the Khowst District. Stores and stalls are opening up once again and the peasants are stocking up with fertilizers and seeds for the spring sowing. The Gardeyz-Khowst highway is functioning wihtout interruption.

Correspondent Describes Situation in Khowst

PM251147 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 88 First Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent V. Okulov article under the rubric "On the Spot Report": "Help From the Friend in the North"]

[Text] Khowst-Gardeyz-Kabul—Even now that the blockade has been broken, Khowst does not let you forget that it is a frontline city. Looking through the porthole at night at the blacked-out airfield from the empty belly of the An-26 transport aircraft on its way from Kabul to Khowst to collect the wounded, I cannot see a thing. Crew Commander Colonel Gulyam Khabib lands the aircraft guided only by the pulsing guiding flares. The wounded are hurriedly loaded, and we are advised to leave the aircraft immediately and hurry as far from the runway as possible: Because the border is close, the dushmans regularly bombard the airfield with rocket missiles when the aircraft arrives from Kabul.

Indeed, the main thread now joining Khowst with the "mainland" is the road from Gardeyz. The entire city lives in the expectation of the changes which invariably follow the lifting of a blockade. And these changes are already noticeable. The people are discussing the news at the city stalls. It concerns everyone, because what Khowst inhabitant can do without salt, flour, fuel, matches, or shoes. During the 9-year blockade, prices at the stalls have ceased to be accessible to ordinary people.

But now?

As soon as I tried to put this question to the city dwellers squatting near one of the innumerable stalls and drinking tea, they fell over each other to answer:

"Recently we were paying 2,500 afghanis for one sir of salt (a sir is slightly over 7 kg—V.O.) but now it costs 200 afghanis in the stalls."

"The price of a potato dropped from 1,800 afghanis to 280 afghanis."

"A can of oil is nearly three times cheaper."

"And diesel fuel is 10 times cheaper! Without it you cannot heat your home or brew tea."

"We can even treat our children to candy: Instead of 180 afghanis a packet now costs 30-40 afghanis..."

But my interlocutors were far from euphoric. They related their expectations and spoke of urgent issues.

"Families are waiting for medicines. We need doctors," Jan Gul, the owner of a small stall, said.

"We have a cooperative but we lack tractors. Food must be distributed first of all to the families of the dead," state employee Miya Khan opines.

"So far no aid has reached the hamlets," peasant Musa Jan, deputy chairman of Latak village national conciliation commission, remarks.

And here is the voice of stall owner Gunduk:

"Unless the authorities give us everything we have been waiting for immediately, we will leave for Pakistan...."

"An unreliable man," my guide Shirin comments through his teeth. "Neither ours nor yours. He has two brothers in the gangs and he himself is suffering no poverty in his stall — he hikes prices quite imperturbably. As though he does not understand that the goods which have come in must first be stored and inventoried or else a lot will disappear immediately...."

Close to noon we drive to the Western outskirts to meet a convoy which has arrived. One after another, 245 trucks come to a standstill near the group of people. They are the reception commission — representatives of the city authorities and military units. It is they who distribute the freight. Khan Wali, a worker at the PDPA District Committee responsible for direct patronage ties with Azerbaijan, welcomes the goods from the Soviet republic. Half an hour later, near a two-story house adapted to serve as a warehouse, a team of volunteer unloaders surround the rumbling KAMAZ trucks — they are young and old from the hamlet of Karavansara. Their chief, Janat Khan, chairman of the local jirgah, watches the little boys from the hamlet in columns of dust carrying away mattresses, blankets, and shawls bearing the labels of Azerbaijani factories.

"We have 50 families in our village. There is nothing—no kerosene, seed grain, or fertilizer. We think that the day the road to the district was liberated was a great festival for us. We are the victors! We know that what has been brought in to us is intended for us. And we know where it comes from—from our northern neighbor, the Soviet Union. That is why no one had to be persuaded to help with the unloading."

In the governor's office, visiting Khan Muhammad, the head of the local authorities, I copy figures into my notebook. Before today's convoy arrived there were 1,281 tonnes of grain, 170 tonnes of flour, 826 tonnes of rice, 239 tonnes of salt, tea, sugar, fertilizers, gasoline, textiles, matches, footwear, clothing, blankets were held in the storehouses.... All this had arrived as free Soviet aid.

"If you could have seen how the first convoy was welcomed on 30 December!" the governor says. "It was expected at 1100 hours, but the trucks entered the city at the day's end. They told us that conditions at the pass were very difficult—ice and snow. The convoy was

already en route but at some point on the central sector they had not had time to restore the bridge. The Soviet and Afghan sappers were undismayed. They dragged a damaged armored carrier into the pass and covered it with earth and hundreds of trucks passed over it as though it were a bridge."

...At the combat control point, division commander Major General Gulyam Faruk describes the situation.

"In response to his defeat in the Zadran region, the enemy is stepping up pressure in other volosts in the district. He is trying to drive the posts from the heights in order to ensure that Jalaluddin's gangs can leave and that their food supplies can be supplemented. In the Bak region our battalions are fighting unceasingly. The dushmans are based on Pakistani territory, at Kharband and Metasangar. Every day they send 20-30 rockets against the city and hamlets. There are casualties among the civilians. A 155 mm American model long-range field gun bombards the airfield. The bandits do not carry out a single operation without support from the Pakistani border detachments—the malishi. There are reports that an act of economic subversion has also been conceived: planting people to buy up the goods entering the city and transferring them to Pakistan to hike prices again."

...The sun rose and the mountains sprang into relief particularly clearly. The sun's red hues colored the east-facing slopes. The sky was suffused with the color of pure turquoise. The line of heavy trucks clambered among the boulders next to the bridge blown up by the dushmans. I could see that a mine-seeking German shepherd had taken up its position on the tower of a guard tank next to a shaggy-haired soldier. A bonfire near the Afghan post: The infantrymen were brewing the morning tea. A blue truck decorated with the figures of fairytale elephants came round the bend and there was a woman's face in the cabin. Civilians were traveling to Khowst.

Foreign Journalists Visit Khowst, Tour Area
LD201025 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 20 TASS—TASS Correspondent O. Kuzmin reports:

"People's power faced the alternative: Either to surrender Khowst to the counterrevolutionary forces or to liberate the road connecting the district with Gardeyz", Ahangar, secretary of the Khowst Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has told foreign journalists who came Tuesday to that city in eastern Afghanistan. The unanimous decision was to liberate the road and in this way to remove the siege of Khowst, to deliver to the district food and other necessaties, he said.

During the stay in Khowst correspondents of the foreign press met with local residents and soldiers who had liberated the road to the city. A trip to an area of recent fighting was organized for them. The local government bodies gave them an opportunity to see storages with food,clothes, footwear and chemical fertilizers. A major part of those products was brought from Gardeyz by the road liberated from counterrevolutionaries.

After a rally held outside the city house of culture whose participants voiced their support for the national reconciliation policy, the journalists saw the distribution among Khowst residents of food, textiles and other goods many of which were delivered to Afghanistan within the framework of Soviet assistance to that country.

The distribution was hardly over when another column of trucks appeared in the square. It brought textiles, fuel and chemical fertilizers from Gardeyz.

Foreign journalists were given an opportunity to make a trip by the Khowst-Gardey highway. On their way they could witness several more times the distribution of goods by representatives of local government bodies within the framework of free aid to the population. In some cases they were followed by popular feasts—music and folk dances.

At the end of their trip the journalists had a meeting with Soviet and Afghan combat engineers who had demined the highway in the course of the combat operation and who continued to ensure the safety of the traffic there. It was, perhaps, the most interesting episode of their trip to Khowst. The Soviet officer Yu. Provorov told the journalists about the work of the soldiers of his unit. He pointed out that thanks to combat engineers not a single vehicle had struck a mine since the traffic by the highway was resumed. The journalists were shown mines defused on the road. They viewed with interest the demining of part of the area with the help of various technical devices and dogs.

On the same day the journalists returned to Kabul.

Afghanistan's Balkh District Declared Peace Zone
LD260956 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 26 TASS—Balkh District of the northern province of Afghanistan of the same name was proclaimed a peace zone. This decision was made at a meeting of representatives of the district's population. Three armed groups downed arms and went over to the side of the government in Kabul Province. They joined a battalion of the revolution's defenders and now guard the peaceful life of the citizens of their district.

The jirgah of representatives of the Nurzai, Warakzai, Alizai, Achakzai, and Papulzai tribes of Shindand District, held one of these days, passed a decision to defend

the district against the counter-revolutionaries' raids by the forces of tribal volunteer groups. One hundred and ninety five people were released yesterday from the Puli-Charhi prison in Kabul under the decree on amnesty by the president of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Afghan Reconciliation Policy in Faryab Reviewed

LD211626 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 21 TASS—Over 11,000 people have downed arms and declared support for the government's national reconciliation policy in the northern Afghan Province of Faryab over the past nine months.

Thousands of refugees have returned there from Iran and Pakistan over the same period.

Several dozen villages have been set free peacefully. A total of 141 reconciliation commissions have been set up and are active in the province. A total of 282 persons have been released from prisons.

USSR-Afghan Scientific Cooperation Deal Outlined

PM221545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Okulov: "Academies Get Together"]

[Text] Kabul, 19 Jan—Joint research into the natural sciences and the economy and culture of Afghanistan will be the chief form of collaboration between two academies of sciences — those of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan. This is set down in an agreement on scientific cooperation and an exchange of scientists which was signed in the Afghan capital today by USSR Academy of Sciences President G.I. Marchuk and Afghan Academy of Sciences President S. La'eq.

The 5-year program envisages consultation trips by scientists, lectures, and familiarization with research results. And the number of Afghan scientific figures visiting Soviet academic institutions will quadruple. For joint research purposes, the USSR Academy of Sciences will provide the Afghan friends with equipment free of charge and will also supply all that is required for laboratory research in the sphere of seismology, the chemistry of natural substances, and the use of solar energy.

It is proposed to organize a combined expedition to study questions of archeology, ethnography, medieval history, and linguistics. There are plans to hold a scientific conference on the development of Afghan productive forces and use of the results of the future Soviet-Afghan space flight in the study of the country's natural resources. Institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and union republics' academies of sciences will help the Afghan colleagues train highly skilled cadres.

East Europe

Zhivkov Receives Lukyanenko, Olshanskiy

PM260905 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman, has received V.M. Lukyanenko, USSR minister of chemical and petroleum machine building, and N.M. Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production.

Further Reportage

For reportage on the visit of USSR's Vladimir Lukyanenko, minister of chemical and petroleum machine building, and Nikolay Olshanskiy, minister of mineral fertilizer production, to Bulgaria, see the Bulgaria section of the 25 January Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Soviet-Hungarian Oil Pipeline Leak Repaired

LD251321 Budapest MTI in English 1200 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Oil deliveries were resumed over the week-end of the "Friendship-II" pipeline. On Wednesday a leak was found on the line near the Hungarian-Soviet border. Deliveries were restarted after round-the-clock repairs had been completed on the faulty section.

Functional troubles have been observed five times in the history of the pipeline which was built in 1972. The first time it happened was 8 years ago. The cause has always been the same and its occurence in the same section of the line, fatigue of the material at the welded seams. According to preliminary investigation, the failure of last week due to the same cause.

The temporary stoppage in oil deliveries caused no shortage since the Hungarian refineries had sufficient reserves. Experts said the environment will be cleaned of about 200 tons of split oil by the summer.

The "Friendship-II" pipeline, together with "Friendship—I" (built in 1962) accounts for 98 per cent of Hungary's oil imports and almost 80 per cent of its oil consumption. At present, Hungary consumes - with the domestic production of about 2 million tons annually - over 10 million tons of oil a year, a third of the total energy consumption.

The 228 km Hungarian "Friendship-II" section of the 8000 km "Friendship" system, connecting the Soviet Union, GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, has a capacity of 9 to 10 million tons a year.

Impact of Hungarian Economic Reforms Surveyed

LD251252 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] I think this week will be a special one for Hungarians: The first month under the new economic reforms is coming to an end. This entails a reform of the tax system and price reforms, which, according to government plans, should stabilize Hungary's difficult economic situation and then provide an impetus for economic development. Here's our Budapest correspondent, Vladimir Stefanov:

[Stefanov] During the initial stage, the stabilization stage, the reforms should lead to a drop in domestic consumption in Hungary, and consequently to a reduction of living standard. Moreover, this drop will be of a magnitude not experienced in Hungary for 30 years or more. Now that the first month of the reform is coming to an end, people are counting up their family budget, income, and expenditure and making comparisons. In effect, it is only now, in their pockets if you like, that they are beginning to feel the cost of the reforms, reforms which are, of course, essential and inevitable in the country's present situation.

The press is stating the view that people will naturally try to preserve their current living standards, (?or alternatively) they will endeavor to supplement their income. Most likely, however, given the present economic indicators, they will find it difficult to do this at their main place of work during their main working hours. (?The same goes for) the other option—supplementary labor after the working day is over in the second level of the economy, that is, the private sector. Already, three-fourths of all Hungarian families earn some income from the private enterprise sphere. And although a progressive income tax will henceforth reduce earning possibilities here too, there is, nonetheless, a fairly broad stratum of people—above all, young people beginning their family, large families, and people saving for a apartment—a stratum that will be willing, of course, to take on extra work in the private sector even with highly progressive taxation.

It is also expected that, under such conditions, there will be an expansion of the gray economy and an increase in [words indistinct] invisible earnings, that is, illegal earnings. In any case, there will obviously be a serious increase in the physical and mental strain on the average Hungarian. Certain social groups are already systematically working 10 to 14 hours per day. The well-known Hungarian sociologist, Professor [first name indistinct] (Andras), believe that these stresses will lead to, and arleady are leading to a deterioration in people's health, are taking their toll on family life and chidlren's upbringing and using up study and leisure time, and in general (?are fraught with) unpredictable danger as regards the future. So writes Professor (Andras).

Let's consider yet another important social consequence—further widening of the differences between the incomes and living standards of various strata of society, which arouse in society a feeling of social injustice. According to Prof (Andras) again, the situation is further worsened by that the fact that at the moment, during the initial reform period, people do not yet know how much they are going to earn in the future, what the value of their income will be, or what they will be able to obtain for their money. This is causing uncertainty in both the production and consumption spheres; and moreover, it might, give rise to certain social conflicts.

Writer on SFRY's 'Enthusiasm, Disappointments'

PM251457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Branko Kitanovic article: "What Has Been Carried Over Into the New Year. A Yugoslav Writer Writes"]

[Text] Belgrade—An unusual sight was observed in Belgrade every Saturday almost throughout 1987. Streets, coffee shops, and stores were deserted between 2000 and 2100 hours. People hurried to their television sets to watch the latest part of the movie "Better Life." Its authors, including our famous writer Sinisa Pavic, set themselves the task of using a typical family's life to tackle topical social problems and highlight Yugoslavs' desire and striving for a better life.

The struggle for better life—in the broadest sense of the word—was the main essence of all initiatives and measures applied in the SFRY in 1987. What sort of year was it for us? In short, it was full, not so easy, and distinguished by the quest for solutions to pressing problems. Of course, many of these problems have been carried over into the new year, 1988, but it seems to me that now we have a clearer, deeper, and more realistic understanding of their causes. This is an important condition for their successful solution.

The typical Yugoslav is very jealous and sensitive regarding everything concerning his national pride, international prestige, customs, and traditions. Even sports competitions are a major political issue for us. The last 12 months brought us tremendous enthusiasm as well as bitter disappointments. How Yugoslavs rejoiced when the handball, basketball, water polo, or skiing teams returned home victorious! At the same time, what a national tragedy it was for us when soccer teams, boxers, or chess players failed. That's how we are...

The great 19th century Yugoslav poet, Petar Petrovic Negos, once said: No one has yet drunk a cup of honey without adding to it the bitterness of bile. There was a lot of "bile" in our life in 1987. The economic crisis which started developing in the early eighties is still with us. The country encountered a series of difficult problems and restrictions which disrupted the normal pace of its development. The burden of the foreign debt is heavy.

About 1 million people are looking for work. Universities and other educational establishments train highly skilled specialists in large numbers but, unfortunately, a significant proportion of them leave the country and emigrate to West Europe or the United States. For example, there are more than 20,000 Yugoslav university graduates now living in the United States alone, and they are, moreover, in their "prime"—between 25 and 45 years of age.

Here is another Yugoslav phenomenon. Our markets and stores are full of goods, but not everyone can afford them. According to data published by the weekly NIN, the inflation indicator for 1987 reached 200%.

Last year was not easy for agriculture. The long cold winter, followed by a wet spring and unusually hot dry summer and fall, affected the harvest, which was one-third less than in 1986.

The insolubility of economic problems, the bureaucratic attitude toward working people's needs, and the violation of self-management caused what we call work "stoppages." According to trade union data, about 200,000 people took part in strikes in 1987.

It is understandable that, in these conditions, the LCY Central Committee, the Federal Executive Council (government), and the SFRY Federal Assembly repeatedly addressed questions of the country's economic development. Numerous measures were proposed. They were not always consistent, and at times bore the stamp of compromise. This may be why they produced different effects. Even the ancient Roman philosopher Seneca said that nothing prevents a cure as much as frequent changes of medication.

This is why we welcomed with approval and hope the energetic and decisive steps taken by the government to halt negative processes. At the government's proposal, the SFRY Federal Assembly adopted an anti-inflation program in mid-November last year. In conformity with this program, the dinar was devalued (by approximately 25%), prices were "frozen" for 6 months, and wage growth was halted outside the sphere of material production. The final assessment of these measures has yet to be made. But even now, on the basis of some 6 weeks' experience, it can be said that there has been a certain revival of economic activity and the national economy's stability is rising.

We are worried about the situation in the Kosovo Autonomous Province, populated mostly by Albanians. The nature of events occurring there and their roots are well-known. In the last few years the conflict situation has been particularly sharply manifested by the fact that hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the province. There was a quest for ways to solve the problem in 1987. A national program was elaborated for economic and other assistance to the province, the improvement of the general situation, and the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to their homes. It was realized long ago that the difficulties experienced by the country provide a base for stepping up the activity of nationalist and conservative forces. There were important new developments in the struggle against them in 1987. An LCY Central Committee Plenum examined questions of Communists' ideological work in April. It advocated strengthening the unity of the party and the country and noted the need for ideological demarcation within the LCY ranks and a break with those who disagree with the party's program tasks and goals. The process of demarcation is under way. A number of leadership figures were forced to vacate their posts, and some of them have even parted with their party cards. The people approve such actions, perceiving in them the LCY's growing strength and prestige.

Last year the party elaborated and the SFRY Federal Assembly adopted a strategy for the country's technological development. This is a document of fundamental importance.

I think all preconditions exist for implementation of the set plans. This confidence stems in particular from the fact that the SFRY has a vast army of specialists in all spheres. Our science has repeatedly proved that it is capable of meeting world standards. But it must be self-critically admitted: We are still incapable of making full and efficient use of our scientific achievements in practice. Yet these achievements are famous far beyond our motherland. Let me mention the successes of our selection scientists—Yugoslav varieties of wheat, corn, and other agricultural crops are famed in all continents. We also rank among the leaders in developing fire-resistant materials and superconductors.

In short, there are many reasons to hope that we will overcome the crisis in the next few years and will continue our development as a mature socialist society.

To achieve the lofty goals we set for ourselves we, like all people on the planet, need peace. For several decades now Yugoslavia, pursuing a policy of nonalignment and friendship and cooperation among peoples, has been making its contribution to the solution of the problems of mankind's survival and its salvation from nuclear war. Being one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement, last year it also did all within its power to ensure the dispersal of the clouds of military threat hanging above the earth. This goal was pursued by several foreign policy initiatives. Top SFRY and LCY leaders visited many countries. In its turn, Yugoslavia welcomed leaders of powers, parties, and governments and foreign ministers.

We show special concern for the strengthening of cooperation and good-neighborliness in the region. Yugoslavia initiated the convening of the conference of foreign ministers from nonaligned Mediterranean countries in 1987. There was a positive response to our proposal that a conference of Balkan states be held in Belgrade in early 1988.

Optimism and great hopes are engendered by the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. Yugoslavia's official leaders and our country's peoples assessed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe, signed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, as a historic step along the path to total disarmament.

Relations with socialist countries and the Soviet Union occupy a major position in the SFRY's foreign policy. Our links with the Land of the Soviets go back to the heroic past—brotherhood in arms during World war II and the jointly shed blood in the struggle against fascism. Our cooperation is still broad and fruitful today. There are major reserves for its further development and improvement. Yugoslavs follow with sincere interest and sympathy the progress of revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union and wish Soviet people success.

Our faith in the future has a firm basis—the creative work of the LCY and all socialist forces in the country, the solid material and technical base, and the favorable situation prevailing in the world. This is what we carried over into the new year, 1988.

Briefs

Soviet-Polish Protocol

A protocol on cooperation for 1988 among the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, and the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society was signed in Warsaw today. Among the main tasks of their joint activity is active participation in the development of friendship, helping to strengthen and advance the world socialist system, and all-around cooperation between the Soviet and Polish peoples. The protocol was signed by Comrade Aksenov, Central Directorate of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society chairman, and Comrade Bednarski, Chief Directorate of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society chairman. [Text] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 88 LD*]

West Europe

FRG Nuclear Waste Disposal Scandal 'Growing'

LD251745 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Kondratyev video report]

[Text] A scandal over illegal machinations concerning radioactive waste is growing in the FRG. Still fresh in everyone's memory here are the assurances given following the Chernobyl accident that everything connected with the safety of West German nuclear reactors has no equal in the world. Now, following incredible revelations, the question of the further normal functioning of the nuclear power system in the country has been put point-blank, as they say. The FRG does not have its own permanent storage facilities for dangerous radioactive waste, but so much such waste has built up at the 21 atomic power stations that it would fill 675 freight cars. Part of this is being kept temporarily at the power stations themselves; this mainly includes spent nuclear fuel rods. But many other objects, parts, and equipment at atomic power stations give off radiation.

There are firms that more or less (?wash down) this radioactive waste, clean it up, compress it, heat-treat it, encase it in glass or plastics, and seal it in drums. The drums are then returned to the originator of the waste for further temporary storage. Such a procedure is very costly.

Now, it turns out that the West German Trans Nuklear Company, which transports nuclear wastes, together with a Belgian firm that makes them safe, are involved in a fraud. Everything seems to be done as it should, but in fact nobody makes the waste safe. In violation of the rules, the West Germans secretly add to objects with average or little radiation a quantity of plutonium with a total radioactivity sufficient to give a fatal dose to millions of people. For their part, the Belgians add similar wastes from their reactors to the drums. This cargo is then delivered back to the FRG by truck. About 2,000 such drums have already been discovered in the country, and it is not known how many of them there are.

For the firms, this was a way of making money. In addition, a system for bribing people who might expose the fraud was set up. This involved many millions of marks. It will probably take some time to dig up the whole truth. State and parliamentary bodies are investigating. One thing is clear at the moment: Among the many well-known scandals in the FRG that have put people's health at risk for the sake of the monopolies' quest for profits, the current one is striking for its exceptional lack of principle and its immorality.

FRG Reactions to Shevardnadze Visit Noted

PM251557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondents G. Zafesov and Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "Echo On the Rhine. West German Public Welcomes the Development of Relations With the USSR"]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Jan—FRG political circles, the country's public, and the mass media followed with great interest and attention the progress of the visit to Bonn by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, which ended last Tuesday. Now that this visit has ended, the capital's GENERAL-ANZEIGER, which is close to the FRG Foreign Ministry, writes: Its main purpose has been finally crystallized—the development of a working program for permanent intensive dialogue at all levels.

Proceeding on the basis that Soviet-FRG relations are of "decisive importance" for the situation in Europe, observers point out that both sides discussed "in a very frank and constructive atmosphere" a program for joint actions in most important areas. This applies to the economy, scientific and technical cooperation, and the disarmament process, above all in the area of conventional armaments, and also tactical nuclear and chemical weapons. In the course of the talks, existing disagreements on certain questions and the various means of solving them were not glossed over. But, as commentators indicate, even complex problems were discussed "without sharp words, impulsiveness, and unnecessary sharpness."

People on the Rhine noted with satisfaction the coincidence of opinions on the fact that the disarmament process should proceed without a break and without stopping.

The prevailing atmosphere in these days on the Rhine was so unusual that even such a conservative newspaper as DIE WELT welcomed by and large the results of the talks, carrying an article under the significant headline "Spring Weather in Bonn."

While noting that Soviet-FRG relations "have once again started moving" and that words like "new chapter" are gradually becoming a reality, the newspaper reaches the conclusion: "The warming of the climate between Bonn and Moscow... may benefit both sides. It matches the thaw that emerged thanks to the great powers."

"Thus, a new page in relations between Bonn and Moscow is now open," FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, a newspaper of bourgeois-liberal persuasion, writes, for instance. "Everyone is delighted by this; in any event, the direct participants are." But, the newspaper continues, optimism and goodwill alone are not enough.

Indeed it is not enough. The meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and representatives of FRG business circles showed the rich potential of broad opportunities that exist in the sphere of trade and economic ties and the scientific and technical cooperation between our countries. "It is natural," DIE WELT wrote in this connection, "that FRG industry is also interested in economic cooperation with the USSR if conditions for cooperation are suitable." Those present at the meeting said that the West's discriminatory measures with regard to the Soviet Union and the notorious Cocom lists banning the sale of a number of goods and technologies to the USSR and other socialist countries are artificial barriers against equal, mutually beneficial cooperation. Reiner Roland Lang, head of the "Heinemann" machine tool firm and, at the same time, joint owner of the combined Soviet-FRG "Khomatek" enterprise, stated in a conversation with us:

"The business world now needs help from politicians as never before. Each and every embargo on goods supplied to the Soviet Union must be lifted immediately without delay, and the infamous Cocom lists must be abolished. We must not allow the 'Star Wars' being prepared by Washington to be supplemented by more economic wars."

But to be fair, it must be said that there are also people on the Rhine who have received the Soviet-FRG dialogue without particular enthusiasm. Some people continue to hold out for discriminatory measures in trade with the USSR. Others do not find to their liking the Soviet Union's fair and juridically totally justifiable position on individual questions, in particular, those associated with West Berlin.

Nevertheless, the results of the visit and the main one—the prospects for expanding the ties between our countries—have met with great interest and attention on the Rhine. People here understand that they could have a favorable influence on the development of the entire situation in our common European house, and throughout the world.

FRG's Genscher Says EEC Favors Mideast Meeting

LD250934 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Cairo January 25 TASS—Speaking on behalf of the European Economic Community, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has supported the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East.

He said in an interview with Israeli television at the end of his official visit to Tel Aviv that the forum was the only real way out of the Middle East crisis.

Genscher added that the Soviet Union should be involved in the search for peace because it was not possible to secure stability in the Arab region without it.

FRG's Kohl Interview With Czech Newspaper Cited

LD251112 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Prague January 25 TASS—Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and Czechoslovakia are of great importance for the whole of Europe, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG said in an interview with RUDE PRAVO newspaper. In view of his forthcoming visit to Czechoslovakia he answered the newspaper's questions concerning both bilateral relations and international issues.

An overall improvement of relations between West and East manifested itself, first of all, at the successful summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. "Together with Western partners", Kohl stated, "We strive for a qualitative improvement of relations with the Warsaw treaty countries. A substantive dialogue and the development of relations in all fields are a good recipe for a lasting peaceful set up in Europe".

"The Government of the Federal Republic fully supports the United States' and the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at concluding a treaty on a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms as early as in the first half of this year".

The chancellor's opinion is that future talks on control over conventional arms in Europe are of decisive importance for further development of relations between West and East.

Kohl negatively regarded the proposal by Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to begin talks on establishing in central Europe a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. He said such zones were not an appropriate step for building security in Europe. In so doing the chancellor shielded himself with general phrases about the FRG's striving for reduction and limitation of nuclear arms and for a universal ban on chemical weapons.

South European Greens Want Out of NATO

LD250823 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Lisbon January 25 TASS—The "Greens" parties of southern Europe ended an international meeting here Sunday.

It was attended by delegations from the environmentalist movements of Portugal, France and Spain and representatives of the European "Greens" Parties' Coordinating Commission based in Brussels.

In a statement issued at a news conference after the meeting they demanded that the governments of the countries they represent quit NATO and close down all foreign military bases, in particular remove U.S. F-16 warplanes from the south of Europe.

They also criticized attempts to activate Franco-West German military-political cooperation within the Western European Union which is seen by the "Greens" as another military bloc.

The statement called on the French Government to stop nuclear testing on Mururoa Atoll and halt research research associated with the N-bomb.

The participants in the meeting stressed the high significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles to improving the overall international situation.

Italy's Zanone on Stationing of U.S. F-16's

LD241711 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Rome January 24 TASS—Defence Minister of Italy Valerio Zanone, speaking at a ceremony of inaugurating the new academic year at the Modena Military Academy, was showered with questions by journalists on plans of transferring F-16 fighter bombers from Spain, from the U.S. Torrejon de Ardoz airbase, to Italy. Valerio Zanone was in a hurry to declare that he could not say "anything definite" but, the newspaper L'UNITA writes, the minister then made it sufficiently clear: "The decision on that matter is to be taken by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Parliament. But, in my opinion, we cannot give up our allied obligations to defend the NATO's southern flank."

He made it clear that the talk is about 79 planes rather than 72. Valerio Zanone said that the "question is premature," but he noted right away that "studies of the general staff show that it is best of all to deploy the planes in the south of the country." "With reservations or without them, the defence minister's idea is clear: to Deploy American F-16 planes at a base in south Italy, most probably in Comiso," writes the newspaper PAESE SERA.

Though Zanone promised to "pacify the public opinion," protests against plans of deploying U.S. fighter bombers in Italy are not subsiding. The regional federation of the Italian Communist Party of Sicily has distributed a statement saying that these plans "run counter to aspirations of the public of the country, the population of Comiso and Sicily." The government should not undertake any actions without Parliament's preliminary approval, without taking into account the clear and unified stand of all major political forces, trade unions and public of Sicily who demand that the Comiso base be demilitarised and used for peace purposes, in the interests of progress and peace," the statement says. [quotation marks as received]

Finnish President on Soviet Nordic Proposals

LD251010 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Helsinki January 25 TASS—Soviet proposals for the world's northern regions help promote wider understanding which will help reduce military tensions in these regions and boost confidence-building measures, Finnish President Mauno Koivisto said in the town of Kuuskankowski where he met with voters as a presidential condidate at elections due later this month.

Mauno Koivisto emphasised the importance of reducing nuclear weapons at sea, saying that the Soviet Union had displayed great interest and readiness in holding talks on that issue. The speaker stressed the need to spread confidence-building measures to sea, and took note in this connection of the Soviet proposals set forth in Murmansk. International economic, scientific and technical cooperation as well as joint efforts in environmental protection, extending up to the North Pole, would help further boost confidence-building measures in this region. This is one of the goals of Finland's security policy, Mauno Koivisto said.

Thatcher Praise for Soviet Reforms Cited

LD261019 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] London, 26 Jan (TASS)—Correspondent Yuriy Levchenko reports: Margaret Thatcher, the prime minister of Great Britain, gave a positive evaluation of the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union. "I believe, that what Mr Gorbachev is doing inside the country, is very brave, very courageous," she said in an interview to the BBC television network. "It will be very difficult to implement it. I hope that he is successful...."

Thatcher underlined that the West will "scrupulously observe" the signed Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and will continue negotiations with the USSR regarding arms control. At the same time, she insisted on NATO's right to modernize other types of nuclear weapons. Justifying this position, which clearly is contrary to the spirit of the Soviet-U.S. agreement, she once again repeated the old thesis regarding the alleged "threat" coming from the USSR.

Soviet-Canadian Antidrug Cooperation Noted

LD241142 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Ottawa January 24 TASS—A. Privalov, a representative of the main department of the State Customs Control Commission of the USSR, has arrived in Canada to attend, as a witness, a trial of drug business leaders. The trial is to be held owing to the joint anti-drug trafficking operation, carried out by Soviet and Canadian customs services, which ended in the rout of one of the links of the drug business mafia.

In March last year the Soviet customs service discovered about five tons of Pakistani-made hashish, costing about 120 million dollars, in a camel wool cargo which was on its way to Canada via the USSR's territory. The Soviet customs service officials informed their Canadian colleagues of the contraband, and that enabled the confiscation of a huge drug batch and the arrest a group of members of the criminal syndicate.

Talking to a TASS correspondent, A. Privalov said that the trial of six members of the transnational criminal drug trafficking corporation, is to open in Montreal on Monday, January 25. The top officials of the Canadian customs service, he said, are pleased that the joint Soviet-Canadian operation was crowned with success and made it possible to bring to trial a group of members of the drug business which now poses a mortal danger to the whole of mankind. They are confident that the participation of the representative of the Soviet customs service at the trial will help the court establish the truth faster and take a correct decision.

Latin America & Caribbean

Reagan Says Nicaragua 'Obstacle' to Resolution

LD230905 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 23 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 23 TASS—Speaking at the White House on Friday to those in favour of rendering aid to counter-revolutionary gangs, President Ronald Reagan asserted that Nicaragua was allegedly "the biggest obstacle" to fulfilment of the accords aimed at solving the regional crisis, which were signed by the five Central American presidents in August last year.

But, according to the competent organization, the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Nicaragua possibly has the best record of compliance with the accords.

The President again came out for the new contras' aid request to be approved by the Congress (the request will be officially submitted next week), asserting that it is necessary for continued pressure on the Sandinista government.

Rejects Ortega Proposals

LD250953 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 25 TASS—The Reagan administration has rejected again Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's proposal for direct talks on ways of achieving peace in Central America.

THE WASHINGTON POST said today the proposal was made in a personal letter from Ortega to Ronald Reagan, which was delivered to the White House last Saturday, with copies sent to both that paper and THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Nicaraguan president called for "the immediate cessation of all support for the contras" and for direct talks with his country.

He also drew attention to the fact that the Nicaraguan side had been consistently and unwaveringly complying with the peace accords of the five Central American countries, was committed to "democratization" and guaranteeing "the full and unrestricted exercise of freedom of speech, debate and association" to the citizens. However, Washington, which has been entirely funding Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary gangs, training them, supplying them with arms and directing their activities, turned down the Nicaraguan president's proposal.

THE WASHINGTON POST quoted administration officials as seeing "nothing new" in the proposal.

Nicaragua's Ortega Interviewed on Peace Efforts

LD252259 Moscow TASS in English 2241 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Madrid January 25 TASS—The crucial time has come for Central America's future. Will it be possible to efficiently advance towards settlement of the situation in Central America through negotiations or the United States will impose a military escalation—this question is now on the order of the day, says Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega in an interview to the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS which was printed in the newspaper today.

In the obtaining conditions Europe, and particularly Spain, can and should play a more active role in promoting peace in the Central American region, said Daniel Ortega.

Daniel Ortega addressed Chairman of the Government of Spain Felipe Gonzalez with the proposal that Spain be included into Guatemala accords compliance verification agencies which are to be formed in the near future.

The president of Nicaragua considers as possible the granting by the United States of humanitarian aid to the contras, but only through the International Red Cross and a period of effective ceasefire. U.S. CIA's aid to the contras is out of the question, he underlined.

Daniel Ortega expressed apprehension that the Reagan administration might undertake efforts to frustrate a ceasefire meeting between the Sandinistas and the contras.

Cited on Cease-Fire Talks

LD251908 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] Madrid January 25 TASS—If the United States Congress approves the new appropriations for the contras the Nicaraguan Governm.. will qualify this as a blow to the process of a peaceful settlement and democratisation in Central America. In this event it will ask the presidents of Central American countries to hold a new meeting to discuss further action. This was stated by President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua in an interview to EFE agency.

The Reagan administration is campaigning for the allocation of new assisatnce to the contras and is not interested in ceasefire talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras, Ortega said. That is exactly why the meeting with the contras, scheduled for January 28-29 might not take place. Recently they set forth an unacceptable demand for the holding of the so called trilateral political talks with the participation in them of Nicaraguan opposition parties and this may serve as a pretext for foiling the meeting. A political dialogue is possible only with those who will cease the armed struggle and will join the civilian opposition in the country, the president of Nicaragua stressed.

Ortega proposed to create a multilateral commission to verify the ceasefire and observance by the Sandinist government of the guarantees given to the contras who have downed arms and joined the political life in the country. This commission could include representatives of European countries, international poltiical organisations, the Contadora Group, the Group of Support and also the Democratic and Republican Parties of the United States.

On U.S. Nicaraguan Policy

LD260934 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 26 TASS—The intrusion of the violator aircraft of the U.S. Central Intelligence service into Nicaragua, which was downed by servicemen of the Sandinist People's Army, bears witness that the United States stymies the implementation of the Guatemalan agreements on establishing durable peace in Central America, said President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua.

Appearing in the radio-television programme "Face the Nation", the president said that Washington was applying pressure on members of the U.S. Congress in a bid to get their approval of new financial aid to the Somozista terrorist formations. The bid to thwart the process of peaceful settlement in Central America also explains the recent harsh speech by Reagan in which he had recourse for one more time to the hackneyed thesis of an imaginary threat from Nicaragua, which allegedly serves as the source of communism in the region, Daniel Ortega said.

The Nicaraguan Government came up with new constructive proposals for bringing within the shortest possible time peace to the country, ceasing bloodshed, the president said. They give an opportunity to the contras to halt the armed struggle and join political life as a peace opposition. Developments show, however, that Washington is not interested in consolidating peace in Nicaragua, especially ahead of the voting in Congress and can employ a new manoeuvre to delay the talks.

The United States and the ringleaders of the formations of mercenaries are hammering out demands for the contras' talks with the right-wing opposition, which is tantamount to thwarting the dialogue and is unacceptable to Nicaragua, Ortega stressed.

Economic Commission Set Up With Nicaragua

Ruiz Opens Meeting

PA161724 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] We will only accept peace with dignity, and we are determined to use all means available to achieve it, Minister of Foreign Cooperation Henry Ruiz stated during the inauguration of the third session of the Intergovernmental Nicaragua-USSR Joint Commission.

As for the Esquipulas peace process, Ruiz termed it an expression of the emergence of Latin and Central American unity. Ruiz said the session was very important because bilateral trade for 1988-90 will be discussed.

[Begin Ruiz recording] I also believe this third session is being held in a new international context. There is hope, due to the disarmament agreements signed in Washington last December. This session is also being held within the framework of the Esquipulas peace efforts. These efforts certainly are an expression of the emergence of Latin and Central American unity, and the consolidation of Central American historical links. We have held these sessions under new circumstances. The important thing is they will solve—with the use of new methods, and without prejudice—political conflicts so that peace can be achieved, so we can call ourselves true brothers, and so we can dedicate our energy and talents to creative work to benefit our people.

Dear Comrade Aleksandr Kachanov, I also feel we are doing this in the spirit of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I would like to greet with great respect, admiration, and affection the efforts made by the CPSU and the Soviet Government and people to renew the strength of Soviet socialism, so we and other peoples of the world can increasingly benefit from this system of government. Perestroyka will bring about more socialism, more peace, and more progress.

In sum, dear Comrade Kachanov, dear Soviet comrades, and dear Nicaraguan comrades, this third session of the commission, which will cover the period of 1988 to 1990, is important for our countries. During this period, the revolution of the Sandinist people will celebrate its first decade, the USSR will have laid the groundwork for perestroyka, and both historical processes will have brought hopes of peace for the world. [end recording]

Kachanov Speaks

PA151345 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] The third session of the Intergovernmental Nicaraguan-USSR Joint Commission was inaugurated yesterday at the Ricardo Morales Aviles Building. The session was opened by Henry Ruiz, commander of the revolution and minister of economic planning; and Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

During the inauguration of the first working session of the two delegations, Commander Ruiz expressed the Nicaraguan people's confidence in the results of the talks. For his part, Kachanov reaffirmed the Soviet delegation's readiness to make every effort to ensure the success of the session.

The two delegations will hold simultaneous meetings with various Nicaraguan ministers and will visit projects financed by the Soviet Government and people.

Kachanov said the USSR is prepared to develop cooperation with Nicaragua in all sectors. He stated that the USSR considers the development of productive sectors to be a very important task in efforts to face the situation afflicting the Nicaraguan economy.

On inaugurating the third session of the mixed commission, Kachanov said his delegation is prepared to make every effort to seek new and efficient ways to help achieve the desired levels of economic cooperation with Nicaragua.

[Begin Kachanov recording in Russian, fading into Spanish translation] As Comrade Henry Ruiz has just said, it is up to us to review the efforts to implement agreements reached in the area of economic, commercial, and scientific-technical cooperation.

We also plan to review the success of joint activities carried out during this period, and we will discuss the basic guidelines of our cooperation for the 3-year period ending in 1990.

I would now like to point out that since the second meeting of the joint commission, economic, commercial, scientific, and technical cooperation has grown stronger. At the same time, we realize that great tasks lie ahead of us to increase the efficiency of our cooperation so that we can achieve practical results. [end recording]

The drafting of a summary of the work for implementing economic, commercial, scientific, and technical agreements is the principal mission of the Soviet delegation to the third Nicaragua—USSR joint commission. Kachanov stated that the report will review the achievements for the period established by the second session. During the inauguration of the third session, the head of the Soviet delegation noted that the members of his delegation will hold meetings with Nicaraguan cabinet ministers to decide upon the forms of cooperation that Nicaraguan institutions require.

Ruiz at News Conference

PA191945 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Minister of Foreign Cooperation Henry Ruiz stated in a news conference that the Soviet Union's cooperation has increased. In 1985, the two countries established the principles for the USSR-Nicaraguan mixed commission to outline the supply of merchandise, raw materials, machinery, technical assistance, and development plans.

Commander Ruiz, after bidding farewell to the USSR delegation, which recently visited Nicaragua, said that during its recent third session, the commission also renegotiated the protocol debt with the USSR. A proposal was also presented to renegotiate the debt for 1991.

[Begin Ruiz recording] In 1985, we established the principles for the mixed USSR-Nicaraguan commission. That same year, we established the bases for a 2-year agreement that was (?implemented) in 1985...I mean 1986-87. Because the agreement ended in 1987, we again established a framework and guidelines to continue developing our relations during 1988-90. Consequently, our relations were formally and officially established 2 years ago; and we now possess the basis for establishing the framework for our relations during the 1988-90 period. This is the essential thing.

What was the purpose of this meeting? We discussed the level of aid to Nicaragua, and we established that the year the agreement is implemented serves as a basis for the next year. In other words, aid to Nicaragua in 1988 cannot be less than the aid in 1987; and the aid in 1987 cannot be less than that of 1986. I thus wish to clear up a series of doubts that arose concerning our relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet aid to Nicaragua has increased; it has increased in volume and [words indistinct] merchandise. Given the volume of our economic ties, they tend to increase instead of deteriorate.

What did the mixed commission discuss? We discussed all the aspects that we have more or less explained. We also reviewed the normal supply of merchandise, supplies, and raw materials. We noted the problems concerning machinery and equipment; and we covered technical and development aid. Those are the three important chapters analyzed in a relationship like this. [Words indistinct] credit of 245 million rubles for merchandise and raw materials, and 70 million rubles for machinery and equipment. There are also the so-called economic credits, meaning the credits for financing development projects.

We have an old credit of R67 million that cannot be disbursed for another sector; we must use the funds for development projects. We still have to distribute R30 million of that credit. We must review the situation before distributing this R30 million and we must review what has been done, make sure that everything is proceeding as planned, etc. Then we can distribute the R30 million in a given project and present a request for additional resources—in this case R40 million—that will be used for other projects. Consequently, the remaining R30 million will be added to the investment program, plus a new project for R40 million. This represents the funding for an investment project and technical aid.

Given the changes in the Soviet economy, meaning the results of the perestroyka, which affects the economic structures and the implementation of new principles that seek greater independence for their enterprises, this year we will begin a new system of cooperation with the Soviet Union. This has resulted in a banana project. Nicaragua and the Soviet Union signed a compensation agreement to increase our banana production. At the start, Nicaragua proposed that the Soviet Union participate in the production activities of approximately 2,500 hectares. We will begin to implement the project in approximately 700 hectares. How will the Soviet Union participate, and why is this termed a compensation agreement? The Soviet Union will provide the supplies, machinery, and capital. We will pay the Soviet Union with our product under the principle of preferential prices for Nicaragua. This mechanism is not part of a commercial agreement, nor is it part of technical aid; and it is not included in any of the three chapters. This is a new type of relationship. The advantage for us is that the enterprises will operate more efficiently, and that the resources are available as in a joint venture. This resembles a joint venture but the property and plantations are not compromised; they represent a capital investment to develop our country's banana production.

Furthermore, I wish to state the following: Within the framework of this third session, we have also renegotiated Nicaragua's foreign debt with the Soviet Union. The 1980-81 protocols signed with the Soviet Union are now worth approximately R1.1 billion. [end recording]

Nicaragua Negotiating With Indian Group

LD241541 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 24 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 24 TASS—The Government of Nicaragua held in Managua on Saturday the first round of negotiations with leader of the Indian nationalist Yatama organization, Brooklyn Rivera.

Journalists were told by Minister of the Interior of Nicaragua Tomas Borge that the Government of the Republic intended to start a dialogue on a ceasefire between the Sandinist People's Army and the remaining Yatama groups without any strings attached. The national leadership proposed that the Moravian church which enjoys big influence among the population of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, take the role of a go-between at these negotiations. The government is ready to discuss with Indian organizations the Atlantic coast autonomy law, passed in September last year, which granted national minorities broad possibilities for independent development, Tomas Borge underlined.

The Defense Ministry of the Republic reported that one of the CIA masterminded formations of the nationalist Indian Yatama organization, acting on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, staged an armed provocation against civilians of the country. Observers note that the action was obviously undertaken to thwart negotiations between the Government of the Republic and the leader of the organization, Brooklyn Rivera.

The bandits fired from mortars and grenade launchers at the small Indian settlement of Slilmalila near Puerto Cabezas. A local clergyman lost his life and a number of people were wounded in that terroristic act. The contras herded away with them 36 people as hostages.

Northern areas of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast are paid special attention in the U.S. CIA's plans of destabilising the situation in the country. According to the CIA's scenario, groups of the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance and the remains of Indian anti-governmental formations, affiliated with Yatama, are bound to play the main role in subversive actions, said Mirna Cunnigham, a representative of the government in Puerto Cabezas.

Cuban Delegation Sets Up New CEMA Group

FL211533 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] A meeting opened today in Moscow to establish the CEMA Committee for Agroindustrial Cooperation. Antonio Rodriguez Maurell, vice president of the Council of Ministers, heads the Cuban delegation attending the meeting.

The conferees will examine the draft regulations of the new committee, which will coordinate agricultural, forest, and food development policies of CEMA member nations. It will also be in charge of gradually raising the agroindustrial development programs of Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia to the same level as the other European socialist countries.

Cuba's Miret in Moscow for CEMA Meeting

FL211550 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 0344 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Pedro Miret Prieto, vice president of the Council of Ministers, has arrived in Moscow to head the Cuban delegation at the CEMA meeting to establish the Commission for Cooperation in Electronics.

The meeting will begin tomorrow. It will be the second CEMA commission formed through the process of structural changes which was approved last year.

Katushev Talks With Miret

PM260907 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 22 January K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, had a meeting with Pedro Miret, vice president of the Cuban Council of Ministers. A wide range of questions of Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation was examined.

J. Camacho Aguilera, Cuban ambassador to the USSR, participated in the meeting.

Menteshashvili Visits Suriname for Inauguration

PM260935 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] A USSR delegation headed by T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow 21 January for Suriname to participate in events to mark the inauguration of R. Shankar as president of the Republic.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by V.I. Mironenko, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

Political & Social

Shcherbitskiy, Others Criticized at Plenum

PM251835 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by correspondents V. Drozd, M. Odinets, and I. Tikhomirov: "Party Life: Reports by Elected Organs. No Holds Barred"]

[Text] Kiev—Such principled and constructive criticism has never before been leveled at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and its members and candidate members as was heard here at this plenum. The report on the work of leading the restructuring process delivered by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, comprehensively analyzed the course of restructuring and the experience that has been accumulated and spoke frankly about what has been done and what people have so far been unable to do.

The republic's industry fulfilled the majority of the plan targets for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan and in a number of important indicators managed to exceed them. Last year's gross grain harvest exceeded 50 million tonnes, which made it possible to overfulfill the plan for grain sales to the state.

"In the period under review," V. Mironov, first secretary of Donetsk party obkom, said, "the Politburo has worked smoothly. Mutual exactingness increased, the exchange of opinions became more frank, and personal responsibility was enhanced."

The Central Committee Politburo, as the plenum noted, is working to increase the party's influence on the development of the economy and the social and other spheres primarily on the basis of the democratization of internal party life, enhancing the role of the elected aktiv, and developing Communists' initiative.

During reports and elections 42% of party organization secretaries were elected to posts contested by several candidates. However, the new approaches in work with cadres are finding it difficult to gain acceptance. Only 39 party gorkom and raykom secretaries were elected by secret ballot from lists of two or three candidates. The Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, speakers stressed, have not managed to finally overcome local conservatism.

The process of democratization requires the further deepening of criticism and self-criticism. Correct conclusions, the plenum noted, have been drawn by a number of obkoms which previously had been sharply criticized. At the same time, the situation in Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Nikolayevsk, and Odessa Oblasts remains worrying.

The leaders of Kirovograd Oblast, where the solution of urgent economic tasks, especially in the agrarian sector, remains poor, were held strictly accountable. This is the only oblast in the republic where gross agricultural output has fallen in the past 2 years.

The Politburo and Secretariat have begun paying greater attention to the implementation of democratization and the deepening of restructuring at the crucial level of party gorkoms and raykoms. The activity of Krivoy Rog party gorkom, where S. Stezhko is first secretary, is innovative and creative in its approach. The practice of competitive recruitment to leading posts has become widespread in the city. But an example of a different kind was also cited: as before, Zhdanov party gorkom and its first secretary, S. Kuzenin, often supplant soviet and economic organs.

Not all party gorkoms and raykoms have fully mastered political methods of leadership. There is still a strong desire not only to "attract" all questions to the party bureau but also to command and to exert pressure, rather than help primary party organizations ensure that all Communists occupy vanguard positions in the work of restructuring. Here, too, all is not well. During party committee and bureau reports over 17,000 Communists were dismissed from bureaus for failing to prove their worth, and of that number 2,132 primary party organization secretaries and 1,765 shop party organization secretaries were replaced.

Serious complaints in respect of shortcomings in organizational-party work were addressed by plenum participants to the Central Committee Secretariat, which still has not ensured high standards of executive discipline and has not instituted effective monitoring of the fulfillment of planned measures. "One gets the impression," A. Smolyannikov, first secretary of Sevastopol party gorkom, said when sharing his observations, "that there is no integral plan for the Central Committee's work. Consequently, the shortcomings are identical year in and year out."

"The work of the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat could produce better results," V. Mysnichenko, first secretary of Kharkov party obkom, went on to develop this line of thought, "if we adopted fewer resolutions and other documents demanding the appropriate response at local level and organized the monitoring of their execution better. In the last 2 years the party obkom received 235 resolutions, 114 memoranda and work plans, and 82 joint resolutions of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on major issues."

It was said at the plenum that A. Titarenko, second secretary of the Central Committee, ought to shoulder a significant proportion of the blame for this. He ignores some questions falling within his duties and shows insufficient initiative in the restructuring of organizational-party work.

"The role and responsibility of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and its Politburo," Ya. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of Lvov party obkom, said, "are great. This is why the Central Committee Secretariat should concentrate more clearly on monitoring functions and the Politburo on analytical work and a deeper analysis of the republic's development prospects, there should be greater reliance on Central Committee members, and greater boldness should be displayed in passing on the solution of economic questions to the Council of Ministers. The reorientation of the work style depends to a considerable extent on V.V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee. The Politburo and Secretariat must have closer links with oblast party organizations and must help them in solving complex tasks."

First Secretaries of Kiev, Poltava, Cherkassy, and Khmelnitskiy party obkoms and Kiev party gorkom G. Revenko, F. Morgun, I. Lutak, V. Dikusarov, and K. Masik, as well as "Zaporozhstal" steelworker A. Chunikhin, said that the Politburo is not doing enough to renew its style of leadership, which is not fully in line with restructuring's requirements. The Politburo and the first secretary of the Central Committee have something to think about with regard to developing democratic initiatives. The Central Committee Secretariat and Central Committee departments often fail to keep pace with events and simply register them instead of thoroughly analyzing the situations which arise. At present economic issues are center stage. Central Committee secretaries and apparatus officials demand a good performance from others while they themselves fail to achieve this in a number of cases.

Dwelling on the problems of leading the restructuring process in the economic sphere, speakers said that the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo devotes unremitting attention to the implementation of radical economic reform. In line with the new requirements the main areas of activity by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers have been defined and its apparatus has been given a new, improved structure. A total of 14 ministries and departments and 83 middle-level organizations have been abolished. The management of heavy industry sectors has been reorganized. A total of 1,500 enterprises, shops, sectors [uchastki], and other structural subdivisions have been amalgamated. As has been reported, the administrative apparatus has already been reduced by almost 80,000 members of staff with an annual wage fund of R227 million.

However, neither the pace nor the scale of work to restructure the economy as a whole can be viewed as satisfactory. Scientific, technical, and economic levers have not been fully activated. Last year there were serious breakdowns in the work of industry, particularly in machine building, capital construction, and transport. Plans for the sale of output based on deliveries are not being met.

Speakers criticized Central Committee Secretary S. Gurenko, who is responsible in the Politburo for the machine-building complex. It was admitted that Central Committee Secretary B. Kachura, who is responsible in the Politburo for party leadership of heavy industry sectors and the construction complex, does not concern himself enough with organizing the implementation of adopted resolutions.

The names of Central Committee Secretary I. Mozgovoy and Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom Yu. Kolomiyets were mentioned from the rostrum time and again, and not in flattering terms. The southern and southeastern oblasts are quite unable to ensure steady grain production. The republic has not met sugar production plans for many years. There are serious breakdowns in the production and procurement of livestock raising products: Meat production per standard head of livestock has remained at virtually the same level in the republic for 10 years. The development of the processing sectors still leaves much to be desired and the quality of their output is low. Plenum participants made repeated reference to a source of experience which could help to substantially improve the situation: the Belorussian SSR.

Comparing the development of trade and the consumer cooperative, speakers noted that the Ukraine has not only fallen below the average union level but also below that of the RSFSR and Belorussia. Ye. Kachalovskiy, member of the republic's Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, who is responsible for the work of sectors concerned with satisfying the vital needs of the population, had to listen to some considerable criticism in this respect.

A characteristic detail. When the plenum chairman had already announced the number of registered speakers and calls had been made "to draw the line," Yu. Bondar, minister of local industry, rose from his seat and requested permission to speak. The minister talked about his relations with Ye. Kachalovskiy, who was sitting on the presidium, and said how they had become sharply exacerbated. Yu. Bondar had allowed himself to raise an objection with Yevgeniy Viktorovich during the resolution of a cadre issue. His "obstinacy" had cost him dear: The situation became abusive and he was given a dressing down.

The speakers at this plenum voiced different opinions, in different ways. Some spoke with agitation, concern, and a deep sense of responsiblity. There were none of the old compliments to the speaker or bravura assurances. Others mounted the rostrum to give accounts of their activities, make requests of an economic nature, and make stereotyped accusations against journalists. The speeches were received in different ways: some in tense silence, others to the accompaniment of a monotone hum from the audience.

The plenum was out of the ordinary. It was incisive, businesslike, and made one think and look for answers.

Solovyev Report to Leningrad Obkom Plenum

PM221700 Moscow LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 87 pp 1-3

[Report delivered by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, at Leningrad CPSU Obkom Plenum 19 December]

[Text] I

When deciding that the elected organs of party organizations at all levels should deliver reports, the CPSU Central Committee proceeded from the assumption that on the threshold of the 19th all-union party conference a frank and interested discussion of the acute questions of socioeconomic development and of party building is of fundamentally great importance.

The initial stage of the transformations is largely complete. The country is entering the next period, during which it will be necessary to carry out a radical economic reform and deepen the processes of democratizing social life.

An objective and balanced assessment of the path taken since April 1985 and a thorough analysis of the existing shortcomings make it possible to significantly improve the practice of collective work and enhance the role of the elected aktiv in improving the activity of party organizations in the conditions of restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum reached the fundamental conclusion that the party now possesses a theoretical concept and concrete program of actions, which are continuously developed, clarified, and enriched with new approaches and ideas as progress is made.

We have made great progress in our reappraisal of the world situation and the realities of the nuclear and space age. Soviet people and all progressive mankind perceived the results of the USSR-U.S. summit and the signing of the treaty on the elimination of two classes of missiles as a triumph of reason and a major success of the CPSU's dynamic and constructive foreign policy line.

M.S. Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial session marking the 70th anniversary of Great October stressed that restructuring means not only doing away with the stagnation and conservatism of the preceding period and rectifying the mistakes made but also eradicating the historically limited and outmoded features of social organization and work methods.

The process of revolutionary renewal is designed to give socialism the most modern forms corresponding to the conditions and demands of the scientific and technical revolution and the intellectual progress of Soviet society.

It must be clearly understood that the years ahead will not be easy. They will be for us all a serious examination of our competence and our capacity for original thinking and resolute action in implementing the CPSU's strategic line of restructuring the economic and sociopolitical structures and exercising the party's leading role in all areas of social development.

II

In accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, the Obkom Bureau has determined a specific program of actions to provide party organizational support for the implementation of the fundamentally new concept of accelerating socioeconomic development.

It was based on restructuring the work of party committees and bureaus as organs of collective political leadership, improving cadre policy, and developing the processes of democratization and glasnost in production and social life. The most important role is assigned to the affirmation of the new economic thinking and people's creative and responsible attitude toward work through the harmonious unification of the interests of man, the labor collective, and society.

The Obkom Bureau focused the efforts of party organizations in Leningrad city and oblast on further deepening the social content of plans, introducing effective forms of production management and organization, and unconditionally fulfilling the 12th 5-Year Plan's targets.

The past 2 years have shown that the implementation of planned measures is not easy, that in the search for new approaches it is not always possible to avoid mistakes or errors, and that the barriers to progress have not yet been removed in all areas.

We must now exactingly and self-critically assess what has been done, determine the level of the oblast party organization's readiness to resolve the large-scale new tasks and on that basis make the necessary adjustments to the program of our practical work.

In presenting this report to the plenum, the Obkom Bureau considers it important to emphasize that it reflects only the key areas of the activity of the Leningrad CPSU organization's leading organs. It also took into account the fact that the documents and information reports which the plenum participants have in their possession give concrete form to many of the report's provisions and characterize quite fully the results achieved during restructuring.

At the beginning of the present 5-year plan the "Intensification-90" program was amplified and further developed under the direct guidance of the CPSU Obkom Bureau with the participation of the party obkom's Council for Economic and Social Development and the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress. This made it possible to involve virtually all enterprises and organizations in its implementation and intensify a number of the most important indicators of economic growth. A new section was devised within the framework of the program—to make more efficient use of fixed production capital by switching highly productive equipment to multishift operation.

The specific nature of the tasks that have been set and the intensification of the party's monitoring of their fulfillment enabled the CPSU Obkom Bureau to clearly distinguish between the functions and responsibility of party and economic organs in resolving crucial socioeconomic problems and to create a clear system of party leadership at the level of territories, administrative regions, and labor collectives.

Despite the objective and subjective difficulties which exist, this made it possible to ensure the fulfillment and, with regard to a number of the most important indicators, overfulfillment of the targets set by the plan for the comprehensive economic and social development of Leningrad city and oblast.

The average annual labor productivity growth rate in industry has increased 50% in comparison with the past 5-year plan and the proportion of output certified as being in the top quality category has increased by one-third. The rate of decline in the return on capital fell by a factor of four.

The increased level of mechanization and automation has ensured a reduction in the proportion of manual labor and the metal- and energy-intensiveness of output. It should be noted that many sectors of the economy in Leningrad city and oblast have been fulfilling the targets with a net reduction in the number of workers.

However, the objective analysis conducted by the Obkom Bureau at a recent economic conference of the Leningrad party organization's aktiv prompts the conclusion that the improvements achieved in the development of the region's economy represent a trend rather than a fundamental breakthrough. The measures taken by a number of enterprises to remove the braking mechanism are superficial and formal in character and amount to no more than a slight modernization of the traditional management practice. The low standard of economic work and the passivity of a number of party organizations on these most important questions are also having an effect.

For example, since 1984 a wide-ranging economic experiment, one of whose fundamental elements was the 100% fulfillment of contract deliveries, has been conducted in industry. Quite a lot of time has passed. Today that demand is the fundamental basis of the economic management of all enterprises without exception.

Even now, however, when the transition to full economic accountability [khozraschet], self-financing, and self-capitalization of a large new group of labor collectives is being carried out, a number of them have not taken the relevant organizational measures to ensure the fulfillment of contracts and output sales plans in terms of deliveries.

One industrial enterprise in four has failed to meet this target and there has been a R59 million reduction in the material incentive funds because of direct deductions in payment of fines for nondelivery.

The practical work of collectives which have switched this year to the new economic methods of management has shown that at the majority of enterprises true economic accountability does not exist. It has failed to make its mark on all services and production links. It is no coincidence that more than 20 enterprises are now in a difficult financial position. They include such associations as "Zvezda," "Sevkabel," "Lenbytkhim," "Krasnyy Vyborzhets," and others. But even in these conditions their party and economic leadership is not taking effective measures to increase the volume of production and profit, reduce prime costs, and increase output quality.

On the whole the introduction of state acceptance has had a positive effect on the end results of economic activity. Production and manufacturing discipline have increased and the number of deviations from the demands of technical documentation has declined.

For most enterprises, however, state acceptance was a quite harsh measure. At some the growth rate fell, labor productivity declined, and labor costs per unit of output rose.

In the 1st 6 months not one collective managed to get all its output accepted at the first submission and each month the state acceptance organs returned output worth over R2 million for additional work.

This highly instructive experience and the errors and omissions still being made today in economic development have been the subject of close scrutiny at CPSU Obkom Bureau sessions.

Analysis has shown that economic and soviet organs clearly underestimate the role and significance of economic methods in resolving both current and long-term tasks and do not realize the social consequences of this attitude.

It should be said that by no means all party organizations or their leading organs have been making skillful or competent use of the entire range of organizational and political means for introducing the new economic mechanism.

Gorkoms and raykoms and the party obkom departments and secretaries heading these crucial areas of restructuring are not showing due exactingness toward primary party organizations for the assimilation of new forms and methods of work in the economic sphere.

Serious disruptions have occurred in the machine building complex this year. On the whole it has not achieved the targets of the 1st 2 years of the 5-year plan. The production growth rate in this sector fell from 6% in 1986 to 5.1% this year. Enterprises which have transferred to full economic accountability managed only 3.3%. Almost one-third of the failures to meet contractual commitments occur in the heavy industry and machine building sectors.

This situation was not created overnight. It is common knowledge that until recently the technical standard of many enterprises in the complex was unacceptably low. Now, in accordance with the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, a comprehensive program to strengthen the material and technical base of machine building has been formulated and is being implemented. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan alone, the volume of capital investments has more than doubled and the rate of renewal of the active part of fixed capital has increased.

But as you will understand, these are long-term questions. Their solution must be linked most directly with current tasks. There must be no gap here, and yet a gap does exist at the moment. This is due not least to the rooted style of leadership of the organizations overseen by the Obkom Heavy Industry and Machine Building Department (Department Chief Comrade A.P. Volkov).

A multitude of conferences, instructions, and exhortations replace the routine daily work of implementing the line of restructuring directly at grassroots level and among primary party organizations, work which is so necessary now. It is no accident that even in terms of the number of visits to labor collectives this department's workers are among the worst.

This is far from being a secondary question in the work of the party organ's apparatus. Practice shows that the provision of skillful and timely assistance to the party and administrative leaders of enterprises is a good school for them and can yield tangible results.

Here is another example. It is well known that the state of affairs in light industry was sharply and fairly criticized at one time. A specific and concrete approach in relations with subordinate organizations and persistent work with enterprise party committees and the Obkom Department's economic cadres (Department Chief Comrade I.A. Yegorov) made it possible to extricate the sector from its plight relatively quickly and to ensure an organized transition to the new economic management principles.

Labor productivity growth here this year totaled 3.7%, as against an average of 0.2% during the 11th 5-Year Plan. The number of collectives failing to meet their contractual deliveries has fallen by a factor of almost three. Payment discipline has strengthened.

The success of work in the new conditions depends most directly on achieving a radical breakthrough in the thinking and actions of enterprise and organization economic cadres. The efforts of the apparatus of the obkom, Leningrad Gorkom, and party gorkoms and raykoms must be directed toward resolving this task too.

During the restructuring that is in progress the Obkom Bureau is paying paramount attention to developing the agro-industrial complex.

The main avenues for further intensifying agriculture and improving economically accountable relations and the management structure have been examined and defined. The work of a number of party gorkoms and raykoms and economic organs in resolving the Food Program's tasks has been analyzed. That has made a considerable contribution to the steady growth in state purchases of livestock, poultry, milk, and eggs in agricultural production in recent years.

At the same time it is clear that soviet and economic organs and party committees do not always show due persistence in implementing plans or use every opportunity to increase the production and improve the quality of crop raising and livestock output.

The scientifically validated crop and livestock systems developed in the oblast are being introduced by sovkhozes extremely slowly. Crop rotations are being applied on only one-half of the arable land while intensive techniques have not been fully elaborated and are being used on a limited area. Organic and mineral fertilizers are used inefficiently. There must be a considerable improvement in seed production for potatoes, vegetables, and feed crops.

Even though vast resources are being invested in the oblast's agriculture, production efficiency is not increasing. In the past 6 years fixed capital has increased by 60% in crop farming but gross output has risen only 13%. One-half of sovkhozes ended last year with a low level of profitability and the wages growth rate substantially outstripped the labor productivity growth rate.

It should be said self-critically that the party Obkom Bureau has not secured a breakthrough in the thinking of the leaders of the agro-industrial complex or party and soviet cadres, who continue to assess the results of their

activity in terms of gross output growth and not in terms of the unit cost. This approach makes it less likely that serious errors in the sector's development will be noticed.

The oblispolkom and the CPSU Obkom Agriculture and Food Industry Department (Department Chief Comrade V.A. Zubkov) should make urgent adjustments to the earlier comprehensive programs for the development of agricultural production in order to make full use of the extensive potential offered by the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside. They have been slow to gain acceptance so far.

Take the family contract, for instance. This progressive method of economic management has been discussed for 2 years now, but there are currently only 17 families working in that manner in the entire oblast, and that despite the fact that we have dozens of small and medium livestock units and thousands of hectares of flat fields.

Whereas stockraising is at least beginning to adapt to the family contract, in crop raising it has not been disseminated at all.

The practical solution of the question of raising livestock on personal plots and by contract with sovkhozes does not stand up to criticism. This is convincingly demonstrated by the fact that each year around 50,000 calves are slaughtered at the age of less than 1 month and an opportunity is thus lost to produce at least an extra 20,000 tonnes of beef.

Subsidiary plots belonging to citizens and industrial enterprises as well as collective horticulture and truck farming are a considerable help in providing Leningraders with food. Quite a lot has been done in this area. At the present time there are 300,000 horticultural plots, for example.

However, the Leningrad Gorispolkom Administration for Services to Collective Horticulture (Chief Comrade A.N. Malyutin) and local soviet ispolkoms are slow to deal with people's needs and requirements. Many questions relating to transport, trade, and medical services, road building, and energy supplies remain unresolved, as the constant stream of letters to the CPSU Obkom testifies.

More than 35,000 previously allocated plots of land remain empty and the target for an increase in the number of plots in the oblast has not been met. Party gorkoms and raykoms make give a principled party assessment of the activity of soviet gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms and enhance the role of party and trade union organizations at the enterprises to which land is allocated.

Questions of relations between sovkhozes and sponsor enterprises are particularly urgent during the transfer to self-financing and self-capitalization. Despite the considerable increase in the level of technical equipment, labor costs for the production of the main types of agricultural output are falling only slowly. Most farms are making unsatisfactory use of existing harvesting equipment.

Three years ago the Leningrad Oblispolkom approved a comprehensive program for reducing manual labor on sovkhozes. However, neither the oblispolkom nor the oblast agroprom has even once examined how it is being implemented. No one bears responsibility for the failure to meet it.

There is only one conclusion—the consumerist mentality must be swiftly eradicated. Sponsorship must be firmly based on economic accountability with a view to sharply reducing by the end of the 5-year plan the enlistment of people from enterprises and organizations for field work and at vegetable depots.

This task requires new thinking and a new approach to work by all cadres in the agro-industrial complex. Comrades V.I. Nikulenkov and Yu.A. Maksimov, leaders of the oblast and city agro-industrial committees, have still not shown themselves to be thrifty managers. The committees have not organized coordinated action at all stages of the production, storage, and sale of output, which ultimately affects its range and quality.

The formation period of the city and oblast agroprom was clearly too long and the tasks and functions of their inordinately large apparatuses have not been clearly defined. No wonder that in these conditions many specialists are in no hurry to assume responsibility for resolving concrete questions.

However, the tasks facing the agro-industrial complex are extraordinarily complex and responsible. It is a matter of considerably improving Leningraders' food supply, not in the distant future but within the next 2-3 years.

The efforts of party organizations, soviets, specialists and scientists, and all working people in the countryside and the food industry must be directed toward that end. It is important to take comprehensive measures to ensure that the shortfall in the crop harvest permitted to occur by the oblast this year is remedied as far as possible.

Food industry enterprises must be modernized and retooled quickly. A program for that purpose has been elaborated and submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The CPSU Obkom Bureau is specially monitoring the implementation of the planned measures.

III

The Obkom Bureau consistently orients party gorkoms and raykoms and soviets toward resolutely eradicating leftover principles in planning the development of the social sphere—a most important sphere which affects Leningraders' everyday needs and requirements.

The paramount problem here is housing. The program devised by the Leningrad Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom for providing every Leningrad family with its own apartment or house by the year 2000 has been examined and approved. We have discussed its content and thrust on numerous occasions. I think that there is no need to return to that question today.

As for the solution of the housing problem, certain positive changes have emerged relating to the increase in the amount of housing commissioned and an improved rhythm of commissioning. However, the tasks facing us are not easy, especially as in solving them we must also ensure the more comprehensive development of new residential districts and bring their essential social, cultural, and consumer service facilities—stores, public catering enterprises, preschool institutions, schools, and health and cultural organizations—up to the normative standard.

It is common knowledge that during the 11th 5-Year Plan serious mistakes were made in the planning and allocation of capital investments for social, cultural, and consumer service projects, including the development of trade's material and technical base. The level of provision of trade facilities in Leningrad is among the lowest, especially in new rayons, and the existing network of enterprises is visually unattractive.

Furthermore, even when the necessary stocks of industrial goods and foodstuffs exist, the quality of service and range of items on offer are still low, which causes justified dissatisfaction among Leningraders.

Having examined this question the party Obkom Bureau noted that Comrades A.P. Zlobin, N.N. Antonov, and V.F. Kovalev, leaders of main administrations and administrations, are failing to show initiative and persistence in resolving urgent problems and have tolerated the existing shortcomings.

A program has been outlined for the faster construction of trade enterprises. The responsibility for monitoring its implementation has been entrusted primarily to the Obkom Trade and Consumer Services Department (Chief Comrade V.G. Fedoseyev), the Leningrad Gorkom, and CPSU gorkoms and raykoms.

The organization of cooperatives in public catering, consumer goods production, and consumer services should help improve the services offered to Leningraders. Over 400 such cooperatives have already been set up. More than 7,000 people are already engaged in individual labor activity. This year alone they provided the population with additional consumer services worth more than R1.5 million and increased commodity turnover in public catering by almost R1 million.

There is still much formalism and inertia in these matters, however. Little more than one-half of the registered cooperatives are actually in operation. On occasions ispolkoms have unjustifiably refused to accept cooperatives' registration documents and do not give help in allocating premises. Certain distortions have appeared in the development of individual and cooperative labor activity. Monitoring here by the obkom department must be constant and exacting.

Quite a few problems have accumulated in the social sphere. There are also serious shortcomings in health care, passenger transport services, public education, and culture. Those problems must be resolved significantly more rapidly than has been the case in the past. Clearly, the Obkom Bureau should organize the certification of the social base of rayons, cities, and settlements with the aim of producing a clear program for its accelerated development.

Environmental protection is a matter of special concern. Quite a lot is being done in this regard. As a result of the firm and consistent stance taken by the party Obkom Bureau, resolute measures have been implemented to improve the environmental situation in the Lake Ladoga basin, the towns of Kirishi and Slantsy, and other population centers. But the problem remains very acute. We cannot and have no right to slacken our efforts here.

As you are aware, in November the CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved the general plan for the development of Leningrad City and Oblast through the year 2005. Its elaboration marked the completion of the creation of an integrated system of planning for the region's development.

The special feature of the general plan is that it is based on a firm economic foundation—the intensification of social production, a comprehensive approach to sectoral and regional problems, including nature conservancy, and the priority development of the social sphere.

Leningrad Oblast and City Soviet sessions drew up a broad range of measures to implement it.

It is planned, in particular, to involve all enterprises in the city and oblast without exception in this work. The task of the Leningrad Gorkom, CPSU raykoms and gorkoms, and soviet organs is to determine the contribution of each of them to the social sphere of rayons, cities, and settlements and to increase the quantity of paid services and consumer goods production, to take the relevant measures to achieve that, and to work to ensure that the plans are unswervingly implemented.

The Leningrad Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom Planning Commissions have a significant role to play in implementing the tasks of ensuring the economic and social development of the region and of administrative rayons.

As is well known, their rights have been expanded considerably in recent years. The degree of accountability has also been increased, of course.

However, there are shortcomings in the activity of the Leningrad Gorispolkom Planning Commission (Comrade K.I. Labetskiy) and the Oblispolkom Planning Commission (Comrade L.A. Koykolaynen). In a number of cases there is a subjective approach in the formation of current and long-term plans, and the basic principle of planning is being violated—balance and proportion in the development of the various sectors, rayons, and the whole of Leningrad and the oblast. Ministries, departments, and central economic management organs are little involved in eliminating the emerging disproportions.

The degree of exactingness and responsibility of the CPSU Obkom Economic Department (Chief Comrade B.V. Ulyanov) should undoubtedly be increased in resolving these questions.

The implementation of the plans depends in a most direct way on the pace of restructuring in the activity of the construction complex. Here as in other sectors there is certain positive progress. This year in Leningrad and the oblast 56% more fixed capital was commissioned than in the corresponding period last year. The proportion of capital investments channeled into reconstructing and retooling enterprises and social facilities has increased.

At the same time one cannot fail to see that the positive changes in the complex' work are still proceeding slowly. There is a systematic failure to commission important national economic projects. Construction continues to be poor in quality.

Attempts by the cumbersome apparatus of the construction main administrations to preserve outmoded structures, formalism, and inertia in resolving organizational questions, and the desire to replace reforms with cosmetic repairs to the old mechanism are impeding restructuring in construction and hindering the process of improving the management structure and introducing economic management methods.

In the quest for "100%" implementation, the principle of consistently switching collectives to the new conditions as they become ready to work in them was violated by arbitrary decisions "from above," which, of course, does not lead to fundamental changes in production organization.

The CPSU Obkom Bureau repeatedly drew the attention of ispolkom and main construction administration leaders to these and many other shortcomings in the sector's development.

Any further slowdown in the practical implementation of measures to increase production efficiency and improve the economic mechanism in the construction complex should be interpreted as [evidence of] the leading cadres' inability to organize work properly. Gorkoms, raykoms, and the Obkom Construction Department and its chief, M.A. Gubkin, must adopt a principled party position on these questions.

It must be stressed that the structure of the cumbersome multitiered management apparatus, which totals almost 0.5 million people in all sectors of the national economy on the territory of Leningrad and the oblast, must be revised in the very near future.

A commission to formulate proposals for a masterplan for management in the region which envisages the elimination of redundant duplicate links and the management of organizations which are working inefficiently has been set up by decision of the bureau. The Leningrad CPSU Gorkom and obkom, gorispolkom, and oblispolkom sectorial departments must take a very active part in this.

IV

The analysis of the progress of restructuring conducted by the Obkom Bureau shows that the main layer of problems concerning the improvement of economic relations and a vast amount of work yet to be done are to be found right down at labor collective level. The democratization of production life and the broad development of glasnost are called upon to produce people's active involvement in production management and the quest for new ways of organizing and providing material and moral incentives for labor.

As of January next year, enterprises and organizations switching to economic accountability, self-financing, and self-capitalization will be fully subject to the operation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Many of its provisions concerning the setting up of labor collective councils and the election of leaders will be applied everywhere. In this way democratic principles in management will be placed on a firm legal basis.

The law's entry into force involves holding labor collective meetings and conferences early next year.

It is a matter of working out an entire package of measures concerning the transition to integral economic accountability: improving enterprises' social base, determining the organizational structures of production self-management, and, of course, electing labor collective councils. An exceptionally crucial time is almost upon us. Party and trade union organizations must immediately resolve any questions which may complicate the situation within collectives. Our existing small-scale but

highly instructive experience of economic restructuring indicates that restructuring must be thoroughly prepared, rather than waiting to see how the situation develops.

Many people still perceive democracy as only a right to elect leaders rather than a responsibility for everything that happens within the collective and primarily for the end results of its activity.

It is no secret that a certain proportion of working people have grown accustomed to receiving rather than earning the good things in life. In some places the socialist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor" has started losing its social significance. This mentality must be resolutely changed today. The affirmation of the principles of social justice is the supreme meaning and essence of restructuring and its humanist content.

Party organizations and the labor collective councils now being formed must focus their attention on these questions. Many of these councils are already in existence, but they have not yet finally found their position within the management system.

The success of restructuring will be crucially determined by the unbreakable unity of its key directions—cardinal economic reform and democratization of social life. The process of democratization gathers strength from the awakened economic interests, while the economy is given a mighty fillip by working people's growing social activeness.

Recently nonstandard new approaches toward the study of working people's demands, opinions, and moods in production collectives and places of residence have been vigorously established. In particular, the practice of reception sessions for citizens, including sessions on holidays, has improved in Leningrad's rayons and in the oblast. Enterprises are setting up confidential advice services, and sociological studies are being conducted on a broad scale. Leningraders are already accustomed to direct telephone lines to radio and television studios during discussions of citywide problems.

Nevertheless, in the bureau's opinion, the sphere of party organizations' educational and ideological activity is lagging more than any other sphere behind the current situation and the rising level of people's social self-awareness. There is still a failure to ensure the necessary differentiation in this activity and to switch from hectoring to dialogue, from lecturing to persuasion and individual work.

The CPSU Obkom Propaganda and Agitation Department (Chief Comrade G.I. Barinova), in exercising overall leadership of the system of ideological institutions, clearly does not do enough to study and disseminate experience of the new approaches toward educational work at labor collective level which have developed in the course of restructuring. But the most important point is that the ideological aktiv does not always have any real effect on the processes occurring there.

Yet this is the link which ought to produce the greatest effect of ideological and educational influence on people's actions and behavior. So far we cannot say that we are satisfied with it.

The growing losses of worktime and the rising indicators of drunkenness at work in a number of rayons can be attributed only to permissiveness and lack of principledness by some party organizations and economic cadres. The number of drunkards detained at production units in Kolpinskiy and Kuybyshevskiy Rayons more than doubled during the 3d quarter of this year.

The economy of Leningrad and the oblast still suffers considerable material damage caused by idle equipment, cadre turnover, absenteeism, and other instances of indiscipline.

Party organizations must take a more principled and more demanding stance on the strengthening of discipline and organization, the overcoming of drunkenness and alcoholism, and the struggle against economic mismanagement and various losses.

The transformations taking place in the socioeconomic sphere are inseparable from the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order and the stepped-up protection of individual rights.

The party Obkom Bureau, while ensuring a buildup of efforts to combat all sorts of antisocial manifestations, constantly keeps an eye on specific problems connected with the restructuring of law enforcement activity.

They include questions of strengthening socialist legality, improving party political work within internal affairs organs and the prosecutor's offices, courts, and arbitration courts, and eradicating drunkenness, drug addiction, and unearned income.

Party control has been stepped up directly at local level. Reports by party gorkoms and raykoms are systematically heard at Obkom Secretariat sessions.

The struggle against breaches of state and social discipline was waged more actively and more consistently during the period under review. There was a drop in the number of crimes against citizens' lives, health, and dignity.

But it must be said bluntly that we must not remain satisfied with the current trend of improvement in the moral atmosphere. The existing potential for qualitative changes in the solution of these problems is still inadequately utilized.

Moonshiners, liquor speculators, and persons engaged in trafficking in foreign goods and prostitution feel they have a free hand. For a long time now there has been no breakthrough in such an important sector as the struggle against crimes by minors. Alarm is caused by the numerous cases of drug addiction and substance abuse among young people.

One of the causes of this situation is the inadequate work by the leadership of the Main Internal Affairs Administration, the courts, and the prosecutor's offices to mobilize workers in these organs in an uncompromising struggle against antisocial phenomena.

For example, a report by the Leningrad Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration Political Department to a session of the Obkom Secretariat showed that the activity of many militia subunits still contains instances of unsystematic campaigns, formalism, red tape, and bureaucratism, and staffers' service and executive discipline is low.

Comrade A.A. Kurkov, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration, and Comrade V.I. Bogdanov, chief of the Political Department, must draw the appropriate conclusions from this.

The alarming situation in many areas of the struggle against breaches of the law stems largely from the lack of systematic monitoring of the fulfillment of [Obkom] Bureau and secretariat decisions on these questions by the obkom department (Chief Comrade V.N. Teglev), party gorkoms and raykoms, and local ispolkoms.

Party and soviet organs must ensure precise coordination of actions by all institutions, departments and organizations, and must aim for effective personal responsibility on the part of leaders of enterprises and educational establishments for the state of public law and order.

It is well known that hundreds of enterprising amateur and primarily young people's groups and associations, with their own interests and leaders, have emerged recently. This is, on the whole, a natural and positive phenomenon. But the timid and passive stance adopted by some party, trade union, and soviet organs has also favored the emergence of certain excesses. The Komsomol Obkom (First Secretary Comrade S.Ye. Romanov) failed to exert the necessary influence on the formation of amateur associations or to give them the necessary ideological orientation. Many of them fell under the influence of people who were politically immature and at times even had extremist inclinations, who strove to exploit the process of society's renewal in pursuit of goals that were selfish, and in some cases directly hostile to the Soviet system.

These phenomena did not pass unnoticed by the Obkom Bureau. Questions concerning amateur associations were examined on two occasions this year.

The attention of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom, CPSU gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations was drawn to the need to develop these new forms of Leningraders' informal activity on the basis of healthy creative principles and to enhance the role of Komsomol and other public organizations in this work.

A fresh look must also taken at the problems of our young people's preparation for labor and social life.

The CPSU Central Committee's critical assessment of the state of restructuring in the educational system fully applies to the activity of educational establishments in Leningrad and the oblast.

Essentially, the reform has simply failed to reach schools, vocational and technical schools, and lecture halls. No substantial changes have taken place in teachers' positions. Many of them work in the old familiar way, without any creative quest and initiative. There are serious shortcomings in educational work with pupils within the education system (Comrade S.A. Alekseyev, chief of the Leningrad Gorispolkom Main Administration; Comrade G.P. Sidorova, chief of the Oblispolkom Department) and the system of the Leningrad and oblast Main Administration for Vocational and Technical Education (Main Administration Chief Comrade L.A. Gorchakov).

Party gorkoms and raykoms have slackened their exactingness toward base enterprises regarding their real contribution toward school reform and the vocational guidance of young people.

There are quite a few problems in the the activity of higher and secondary specialized educational establishments. Obkom Bureau and Secretariat resolutions have laid down the tasks of party organizations in restructuring the system for training and retraining cadres in the latest technology and new equipment, and ways to improve the work of social science departments and enhance their role in the education of future specialists.

Promising forms of training on the basis of integration of education, science, and production emerged and developed during the period under review: education, science, and production complexes and engineering centers. Methodological, organizational, and material foundations have been laid for intensification of the teaching process.

The "Gosudarstvennyy Institut Prikladnoy Khimii" Association, for example, has included the base faculty of the Lensovet Technology Institute in the system for training specialists and a reserve pool of leadership cadres, and has set up faculties for technology, economics, on-the-job training, and the leadership reserve pool. Experience in joint work with VUZ's has been developed at the Baltiyskiy Plant named for Sergo Ordzhonikidze,

the A.F. Ioffe Physics and Technical Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences Science and Technology Association, and several other enterprises.

At the same time, many more unsolved problems exist in the strengthening of ties between higher education schools and production units and in their development on the fundamentally new basis of economic accountability.

Industry's long-standing consumerist attitude toward VUZ's has still not been successfully completely overcome. There are instances of enterprise and ministry leaders refusing to conclude bilateral contracts with them, to transfer equipment, or to accept students for practical training.

CPSU raykoms do not always pay the necessary attention to the activity of social science departments. Their considerable pool of scientists and lecturers is clearly insufficiently involved in studying actual problems of improving the work of party organizations and training and retraining various categories of cadres.

The scientific activity of the Leningrad Higher Party School, which is at times conducted in isolation from the oblast party organization's multifaceted work to implement socioeconomic transformations, is no exception in this respect.

Responsibility for the shortcomings in national, vocational and technical, secondary, and higher education and for the slow pace of their elimination must be fully shared by the CPSU Obkom Science and Educational Establishments Department (Chief Comrade Yu.A. Denisov).

Leningrad's mass media are becoming an effective instrument of restructuring, bearers of the processes of democratization, glasnost, and economic reform. Their level of assertiveness has risen considerably and they have adopted more democratic approaches toward covering complex socioeconomic problems.

Fundamental importance, as regards defining the Leningrad mass media's tasks at the present stage, was attached to the CPSU Obkom Bureau session, which analyzed the work of the Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and planned specific measures for the improvement of propaganda activity, for a decisive turn toward lively dialogue with Leningraders, and for more detailed study and shaping of public opinion. Secretaries and senior officials from the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom now have regular meetings with journalists.

The CPSU Obkom Secretariat outlined a system for responding to critical statements in the press, including primarily effective monitoring of the adoption of efficient and exhaustive measures in response.

At the same time, it seems to us that at present the press is more critical than constructive, and the assessments of phenomena and events often display a trend toward sensationalism, subjectivism, and bias. In this context, it would not be amiss to remind editorial collectives of V.I. Lenin's emphatic definition of the press as a collective organizer. Our mass media in Leningrad clearly lack this organizer's role.

On the eve of October's 70th anniversary, the subject of our socialist genealogy was further developed in works by Leningrad's leading masters in literature and art.

It must be mentioned, however, that in some places real concerns about creative matters are pushed into the background by all sorts of quasi-creative debates which accompany the growing process of democratization of life in the arts.

Relapses into group bias are becoming more acute, and argument is often replaced by attacks, demagoguery, and name-calling. In these circumstances the bureau assigns particular responsibility to party organizations in artistic unions and to Communists who belong to these unions. Party membership must be displayed in an artist's ideological stance and fidelity to the truth of history, the truth of life.

A year will soon have passed since four of Leningrad's theaters embarked on an economic experiment. During this time they have managed to consolidate their financial position, which was duly appreciated by the members of these collectives. But so far there are no grounds to talk of major creative successes. Audience and critics alike note with displeasure the cutbacks in the number of new shows and children's presentations.

More theaters, the "Lenfilm" Movie Studio, and the "Lenkontsert" Association will join this large-scale experiment in the very near future. The Leningrad Gorispolkom Main Administration for Culture (Comrade A.P. Tupilin) and the Oblispolkom Administration for Culture (Comrade G.S. Pakhomova) must learn lessons from the experience already accumulated and must not forget that genuine artistic results are the goal of restructuring in the sphere of art.

V

Party organizations and their elected organs will have a key role to play in the solution of the coming period's tasks, which are without precedent in terms of their innovative nature and complexity. This was vividly and convincingly said by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the eve of October's 70th anniversary, when he addressed the Leningrad aktiv.

In its practical activity, the Obkom Bureau concentrated its efforts on eliminating the shortcomings in party work curbing the process of restructuring and strove to create the necessary conditions to reveal every party organization's creative potential as fully as possible.

The style of the obkom apparatus' work is changing, there has been a significant cutback in document circulation and the number of conferences and sessions held, the number of questions referred by departments to the bureau and secretariat has been reduced by almost one-half, and party gorkoms and raykoms have been given more independence in determining forms of work on resolutions from higher-ranking organs.

At the same time, the bureau fully shares the opinion of many obkom members that the apparatus is still slow in mastering party political methods of leadership, and this applies primarily to the sectorial departments, which frequently continue to supplant economic organs in solving the problems facing the latter, and fail to display the due initiative.

For example, quite a few complex problems have accumulated in transport and the organization of passenger and freight transportation. It is not easy to introduce the elements of the new economic mechanism here, and the existing positive experience is not widely disseminated. However, the Obkom Transport and Communications Department fails to submit any constructive proposals aimed at improving the state of affairs.

The apparatus' evident isolation from primary party organizations evokes justified criticism. Here are just a few statements by obkom members on this matter: "The obkom has not developed sufficient ties with the rank-and-file aktiv," "Apparatus workers must address people more frequently," "The obkom has still not reached the primary party organizations and they are under the direct influence of the administration."

Appropriate conclusions must be drawn from these justified remarks, and primarily by chiefs of the CPSU Obkom departments.

In its activity the bureau must rely more on party obkom members and must not reduce their role to simple participation in general events or work on some particular issue. Obkom members are plenipotentiary representatives of the oblast party organization's supreme elected organ in labor collectives and rayons. This means that they must implement the collective decisions both by word and by deed.

More attention is being paid to party raykoms and gorkoms, and the bureau has examined reports from 11 of them. A new practice has developed—reports by rayon party organization leaders on specific problems are heard at Obkom Secretariat sessions.

Summing up the bureau's conclusions, it can be said that the activity of the overwhelming majority of party gorkoms and raykoms now reveals more considered assessments of achieved results, a greater desire to find new and nonstandard approaches toward the solution of set tasks, and more glasnost and democracy. Ways to improve party work are being more actively sought by Moskovskiy, Leninskiy, Nevskiy, Krasnoselskiy, and Lomonosovskiy Raykoms and Tikhvin Gorkom. But something else is also noticeable: Some party committees are frequently concerned more with form than with content.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Vyborgskiy party raykom's work noted that the raykom fails to properly head restructuring, and the main efforts continue to be wasted on drawing up numerous programs and planned measures to the detriment of living work with people.

Many of the rayon's party organizations fail to analyze in depth the processes occurring in life, while party committees take an insufficiently active stance against whatever obstructs restructuring and puts the brakes on the process of acceleration.

These assessments by the Central Committee Secretariat apply to a large extent to many CPSU gorkoms and raykoms, and the situation is even more serious in some of them.

The main shortcoming in their activity is the tendency toward the customary methods of administrative pressure. Such a style is typical, for example, of the secretaries and department chiefs of Boksitogorsk and Volkhov CPSU Gorkoms (First Secretaries Comrades Ye.F. Mikhaylov and Yu.A. Melnikov respectively).

Essentially, some gorkoms and raykoms ape higher-ranking party committees, showing little concern for seeking new and nontraditional forms which are typical of only rayon links and make it possible to make them more accessible and bring them closer to people.

It is no accident that many obkom members noted that the leadership of city and rayon party organs is rarely willing to engage in informal contacts with working people and Communists and is only vaguely aware of the actual state of affairs at local level. This is principled criticism from which all party workers must draw practical conclusions.

Restructuring is progressing badly in the Kirovsk city party organization. There are evidently insufficient actual deeds to back up the abundant words and formulas consonant with the time. The leadership is noticeably out of touch with party organizations. For example, Gorkom First Secretary Comrade Ye.A. Levakin did not attend a single one of the report and election meetings in party groups and shop organizations this year.

The erratic work of numerous industrial enterprises and the serious failures in the rayon's agriculture can be attributed only to inability to organize work and to the gorkom's inadequate exactingness toward cadres.

The Vasileostrovskiy and Petrogradskiy raykoms and the Slantsy and Tosno party gorkoms do not display sufficient depth and objectivity in their work to eliminate faults in agricultural activity.

The CPSU Obkom Bureau has approved a plan of measures to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Vyborgskiy party raykom's report. They should be comprehensively examined at subsequent plenums of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms and considered in practical activity to lead primary party organizations.

This is especially important in that an analysis of the processes under way there often reveals their slackness, lack of receptiveness toward interesting experience, passivity, and adherence to traditional work schemes.

For instance, the events which occurred recently at the No 6 Automobile Enterprise, where the natural outcome of forgetting principles of glasnost in introducing economic accountability was a spontaneous meeting which adopted a resolution of no confidence in the association's director and party and trade union leadership, serve as an illustration of such approaches. The labor collective conference which was held later put everything in its place. But a fair and serious rebuke was leveled against the party committee, which did not even try to counter the demagoguery and idle talk of the organizers of the meeting, who included Communists. Formally the conflict has been settled but the atmosphere in the collective even now is complex.

Such cases should generate particular concern in party and trade union organizations. We must engage thoroughly and in earnest in forestalling such phenomena. Otherwise many conflicts may arise in the course of implementing economic reform.

Here, comrades, it is also a case of many party organizations being captive for many years to the prevailing directive-based practice of leadership and adopting temporizing positions, waiting in every instance for instructions "from above" and operating with a narrow circle of the aktiv, without relying on the Communists.

That is why the more assertive development of intraparty democracy in primary organizations is an urgent task. Many processes here are already under way and are exerting a positive influence on the moral and psychological climate in the collectives. But today, at the new stage of restructuring, that is not enough. It is important that this atmosphere not be formed from individual phenomena but be the rule, the immutable law of life of party organizations.

Of course, these processes must develop on a healthy basis, on the basis of Communists' high responsibility for the practical implementation of the party's policy, the monolithic nature of its ranks, and its unity of action in accordance with the demands of democratic centralism.

The Obkom Bureau believes that the party gorkoms and raykoms should focus their efforts on ensuring that every primary party organization becomes the real political nucleus of the labor collective, exerts skilled influence on the situation, and considers working people's opinions and their interests and demands, guided by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

The CPSU Obkom Bureau attaches paramount importance to the improvement of cadres policy. In 2 years over half the secretaries, department chiefs, and instructors have changed in the party gorkoms and raykoms. There has been an increase among them in the number of comrades with experience of work with people and of specialists with technical, economic, and agricultural education. This year after the elections about 30% of gorispolkom and rayispolkom chairmen and their deputies had been elected for the first time.

New approaches according with democratic principles of selection and placement have been defined in work with cadres. At meetings and conferences in primary party organizations and labor collectives there has been a comprehensive discussion of the business and political qualities of Communists nominated for inclusion in the party and economic reserve.

The viewpoint of the primary party organizations where they are now working will be taken into account when submitting nominations for candidates for the posts of party gorkom and raykom secretaries and department chiefs and will be submitted for examination by these committees' regular plenums.

The open and broad discussion of the reserve pool considerably reduces the likelihood of mistakes when promoting leaders and creates additional opportunities for party organizations to make effective use of the practice of checking them in practical deeds and assignments.

The Obkom Secretariat and departments must make this work systematic at all levels and make extensive use, for cadres' training and study, of conversations, reports, on-the-job training, the horizontal relocation of reserve members, and the mixing of posts, including mixing as "understudies."

The need for the broad application of new forms and methods in work with the party apparatus is convincingly borne out by the preliminary results of the certification which will be completed within the next few days

in the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms. As a whole certification has confirmed the ability of the majority of party workers to resolve skillfully the complex tasks of restructuring.

Certification has also revealed omissions in training the reserve and in the system for training and improving the qualifications of this echelon of party cadres. There is also food for thought here for the Obkom Organizational Party Work Department (Chief Comrade A.N. Sushkov) and the leadership of the Higher Party School (Rector Comrade B.G. Andreyev).

In speaking of cadres policy today we must stress particularly that here too the decisive say should go to the primary organizations. In recent years the opinion has surreptitiously taken root that the assessment of the activity of economic leaders is a matter for the party raykom, gorkom, and obkom bureaus. Thus, until recently nearly 70% of party reprimands to leading cadres were announced in circumvention of the primary organizations, for which we have rightly been criticized by the CPSU Central Committee. Just one conclusion must be drawn from this criticism: Any Communist is responsible primarily to his primary party organization.

In its restructuring work the bureau makes active use of the materials of the CPSU oblast organization's Auditing Commission.

In our opinion the activity of the auditing commissions of the CPSU oblast organization and city and rayon organizations is undergoing positive changes.

But the Communists who head these commissions must rid themselves more resolutely of hints of red tape, the use of sporadic campaigns, and oversimplified ideas of their functions as being no more than control functions. I should like to see more methodical aid to the rayon echelon from the CPSU Obkom Auditing Commission and its leader Comrade V.P. Khalanskiy.

People's enhanced social activeness is expressed in the emergence of a number of new public organizations. As you know, councils of war and labor veterans and organizations of the Society for Struggle for Sobriety have been created recently. Women's councils, departments of the Soviet Culture Foundation, the Soviet V.I. Lenin Children's Foundation, and other public formations have begun to operate. Of course, their work still contains many unresolved problems which the aktiv of these societies often has to face alone. It seems to us that in their formative stage party committees must engage not only in criticizing these organizations but primarily in rendering them real assistance in setting up their work.

The existing gulf between the leading organs and primary links in the Komsomol is being overcome only slowly. Whereas at the level of the Komsomol Obkom and Gorkom and raykoms a search is under way for forms and methods of work close to young people's real concerns, the atmosphere of former years mainly reigns in the primary organizations. The bureaucracy, formalism, and excessive organization which are denounced everywhere in work with young people produce particularly adverse results and breed distrust, skepticism, and frequently open hostility. Without overcoming these barriers it will be hard for the Komsomol to count on the success of restructuring in its ranks.

VI

In submitting this report to the plenum the Obkom Bureau instructed me to report both on its collective activity and also personally on the comrades belonging to the bureau.

As a whole it should be noted that the bureau is working dynamically and strenuously, consistently seeking an increase in the results of party backup for the economic and social tasks facing the Communists and working people of Leningrad City and Oblast. Its style is marked by collegiality in elaborating and implementing decisions and by a critical but harmonious and creative atmosphere. Many barriers of excessive organization and bureaucracy have been lifted, there has been an increase in glasnost, and the level of information provided for the obkom members, the party aktiv, and the population on the activity of the Leningrad party organizations' leading organs has increased.

The bureau and, on its instructions, the Obkom Secretariat, have markedly stepped up control and verification of execution. A strict procedure has been established whereby the progress of the implementation of all resolutions is thoroughly examined in the bureau and secretariat. Attention is focused not on the measures carried out by the relevant organizations but on the results achieved, which has made it possible to enhance cadres' responsibility on this sector. This year the number of resolutions whose execution deadline has been extended has been nearly halved compared with last year.

We have already mentioned what has been done and what has been successfully improved. This is undoubtedly to the credit of the CPSU Obkom Bureau members.

At the same time the bureau members view the presence of disruptions in Leningrad's economy, in the social sphere, and in the activity of leading cadres as their own omissions. In this connection they have deemed it essential to add to what has been said in the assessment of their work.

First, about the obkom first secretary. Having paid paramount attention during the past 2 years to key questions of party leadership of the socioeconomic development and the elimination of the disproportions which had developed in this sphere, and also attending to the main spheres of cadre policy, I was unable, comrades, to ensure more dynamic changes in the style

of work of the party apparatus, to bring them in line with the demands of restructuring. I therefore accept full personal responsibility for the criticism leveled at obkom members in this respect during the preparations for the plenum. I believe that the obkom first secretary should have made a bigger effort to enhance the role and, most importantly, the results of the work of leading cadres of the Leningrad Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom and raise their responsibility for the results of the economic and social development of the region.

A large burden of economic and production problems is borne by Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Fateyev, the obkom second secretary. He is forced to resolve many questions with representatives of ministries and departments, frequently supplanting economic managers, and less frequently managing to attend directly to party committees. In the new stage of restructuring Anatoliy Mikhaylovich will have to concentrate more on raising the standard of work of industrial enterprise and association party organizations and attending to problems of training and retraining of cadres, their economic education, and assimilation of the new methods of management.

The same also applies to Obkom Secretary Dmitriy Nikolayevich Filippov. Doing the work of economic organs, enterprise directors and Leningrad Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom administration chiefs, as he does, does not always contribute to the enhancement of their personal responsibility for the work entrusted to them.

Dmitriy Nikolayevich must actively seek to ensure that leading cadres rely above all on primary party organizations and Communists in the solution of economic and social development tasks.

The problems which have built up in construction, transport, and the city economy have already been mentioned in the report. They are largely the result of flaws in the past practice of the party leadership, especially in the selection, training, and placement of cadres in these sectors. In the bureau the practical solution of these questions has been entrusted to Obkom Secretary Anatoliy Stepanovich Tumanov. Through party organizations, Anatoliy Stepanovich must persistently seek to enhance exactingness toward leaders and create an atmosphere of high principledness and exactingness in labor collectives.

When assessing the work of Obkom Secretary Anatoliy Vasilevich Pavlov, the following has to be said. As an agricultural specialist, he interferes too much in the day-to-day work of the Oblast Agroprom and consequently often loses sight of important long-term issues, especially those connected with introducing modern economic methods of management and the achievements of science and leading practice. Anatoliy Vasilevich will have to concentrate in particular on providing party-political backup for restructuring in the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, which are failing to meet Leningraders' increased needs as regards both the range and the quality of output.

The processes of democratization and glasnost are confronting party organizations with acute problems. Obkom Secretary Aleksandr Yakimovich Degtyarev has failed to ensure a more vigorous restructuring of ideological work. Aleksandr Yakimovich will have to do more to solve the task of radically improving ideological education work directly in enterprise and association labor collectives, at places of residence, and among young people. He will also have to pay more attention to problems of implementing the reform of general and higher education and developing health care, and to the work of the press and the creative unions.

Continuing his efforts to improve the style of work of the Leningrad party gorkom, First Secretary and Obkom Bureau Member Anatoliy Nikolayevich Gerasimov must enhance the effectiveness of the decisions adopted by the gorkom. This area still remains a weak link in the party organization's work, and this directly affects the effectiveness of the work of a number of the city's party raykoms.

Serious shortcomings in the work of the Leningrad City Soviet's party organizations are delaying the solution of many acute problems in the life of the city. Strengthening primary party organizations and stepping up their influence on the state of affairs in collectives in both the production and the social spheres should, in our view, be one of the main concerns of the Leningrad party gorkom and raykoms.

Vladimir Yakovlevich Khodyrev, member of the Obkom Bureau and chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom, has so far been unable to fully resolve this task in the soviets. It must be frankly admitted that there is a mania for holding sessions at the ispolkom and that its departments and administrations, particularly the planning commission, are drowning in bureaucracy and paperwork.

While generally reacting sharply to these shortcomings and serious omissions in the city economy and the service sphere, Vladimir Yakovlevich does not always display the necessary exactingness toward his deputies and apparatus workers. As a result, the ispolkom's efforts are faltering in many spheres and fail to produce returns.

Owing to insufficient persistence on the part of Nikolay Ivanovich Popov, Obkom Bureau member and oblispolkom chairman, the soviets are failing to make full use of the rights which they have been given in accelerating the oblast's socioeconomic development. No appreciable changes have occurred in the improvement of territorial planning, and a system of work with ministries has not been set up here.

The importance of the role played by collegial planning and economic organs is belittled and their decisions often lack depth. Questions of capital construction and the development of the service sphere also demand more attention from the oblispolkom chairman.

It must also be noted that in the conditions of the interconnected comprehensive planning of the economic and social development of Leningrad city and oblast, Comrades V.Ya. Khodyrev and N.I. Popov are not always able to resolve the problems that arise objectively, in the light of the interests of the region, and to preclude elements of parochialism and departmentalism.

Vladislav Ivanovich Korzhov, party Obkom Bureau member and chairman of the Oblast Trade Union Council, will have to display more initiative and efficiency, especially as regards trade union participation in the development of people's labor activeness, the strengthening of discipline, the creation of the necessary working conditions for people in the production sphere, and the improved organization of leisure.

The trade unions have so far failed to find ways of restructuring socialist competition in the new conditions of management. Trade union activists are producing more questions than constructive proposals and—most important—the desire for their practical solution is lacking.

The Oblast People's Control Committee, headed by party Obkom Bureau Member Vasiliy Ivanovich Meleshchenko, has so far failed to find its bearings in the new economic situation. Checks carried out in response to reports or alerts regarding failures or abuses in particular sections remain the main feature of its work.

It is, of course, necessary to subject such phenomena to an appropriate assessment and to bring to book the leaders in question. However, we believe that Vasiliy Ivanovich should make a greater effort to ensure a systematic approach by people's control organs above all to identifying and eliminating the causes which lead to mismanagement and irresponsibility. It would be correct for the committee to assume the functions of a coordinator of the actions of all control organizations in various sectors and departments.

Ivan Vasilyevich Zakharov, team leader at the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association, plays an active part in the work of the bureau. Now that the Law on the State Enterprise is coming into force, Ivan Vasilyevich will have to focus his attention on the work of labor collective councils and the enhancement of their role in the democratization of production life, make a deeper analysis of problems in the development of the collective contract, and submit relevant proposals to the bureau.

The party Obkom Bureau has assessed the results achieved in a spirit of self-criticism and is clearly aware of the existing shortcomings and omissions.

Unquestionably, the results could have been better if we had all avoided the mistakes mentioned earlier and if we had acted more energetically and consistently, clearing away the accretions of the past. But such is reality, and such are its practical lessons.

Without anticipating the content of the debate on this report, we hope that it will be frank and vigorous and will help to identify any other weak points in the work of the bureau, suggest ways of eliminating them, and enrich our future work with the collective thought and experience accumulated at local level.

One thing is clear: Party organizations and all our cadres must search persistently, creatively, and consistently for optimum ways of achieving the aims set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Now, at the new stage of restructuring, comrades, practical action to provide organizational, ideological, and political backup for the course elaborated by the party is more important than ever before. This alone provides a real and reliable guarantee of success in the large-scale and complex effort to renew all spheres of social life and accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

Economic

Letters Question Food Price Reform

PM211615 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 10

[Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Lopatnikov "Reflections on the Postal Debate" under the rubric "Restructuring: Step by Step": "What Will We Gain, What Will We Lose?..."—boldface passages as published]

[Text] I am running the risk of coming in for a hail of brickbats by declaring: In the prevailing economic conditions, price increases for foodstuffs, and primarily for meat and dairy products, are necessary and inevitable.

I am also running the risk of being pilloried by the other side by saying: In the prevailing economic conditions, price increases cannot produce any positive results. This is why they must not be implemented. They could be even harmful.

A paradox? Yes. But an analysis of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA mail shows that, strange as it may seem, both these claims are correct.

Emotions, Emotions.... [subhead]

About 1,500 letters! Really, the passion that prices arouse! To begin with, I started sorting the heap of letters into two piles: Those in favor of price increases on the left, those against on the right. Let me say it at once,

there was hardly anything on the left: I ended up with about a dozen or so letters, all the rest went into the right-hand pile. They expressed alarm, and at times even panic.

"I beg that prices for foodstuffs should not be increased," war veteran Leningrader N.F. Oleynikova writes, basing her request on figures illustrating her modest family budget. Her fellow-Leningrader Ye.V. Khokhlova is perplexed: "I don't know how those who advocate price increases are living, but I get the impression they live in some other state." Young mother N.V. Orlova from Verdyansk: "I think I will be backed by all mothers who are bringing up their children alone. Many are now thinking seriously and weighing everything before having children." M.I. Ivanov, party and labor veteran and war invalid (Voronezh): "If prices were to change as everyone expects them to, this will be primarily a blow against the older generation. Against us pensioners.... Everything must be weighed up comprehensively. Otherwise it may end up producing a boomerang effect...." It must be noted at this point that there are very many letters from pensioners. This is understandable: After all, their lives are already hard enough. As for young people, V.P. Semenov from Moscow (evidently using a pseudonym) deems it his duty to warn: "People in the 20-25 age group will not forgive any price increases!"

Emotions, emotions.... As a matter of fact, the editorial office also received lengthy scientific articles which would be more appropriately published by a specialized journal rather than in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Here there is no room to set out in detail the views expressed by scientists, especially in view of the fact that some of them are categorically against partial quotations out of context, which is perfectly understandable.

It must be admitted that the few letters from supporters of the review of retail prices are also dominated by emotions. "We are debating: Should bread prices increase? By 300%! That is when every single bite will be put to good use: This is what our family thinks"—from the letter from V.V. Gracheva (Rostov-na-Donu). Pensioner A. Kostina from Moscow: "The real calamity is not in undereating but in overeating—people just cannot moderate their appetites, even though this is damaging their health. Prices must be increased so they would not buy in excess." Engineer Ye.A. Krasnyy from Fryazin (Moscow Oblast): "It is necessary to pluck up civic courage and admit: Many prices need to be changed, and changed upward at that. This is dictated by the economic situation in the country."

Let's Discuss it Calmly [subhead]

Now, as Pisarev used to say, let us imagine that our lofty feelings do not cloud our trenchant intellects... We will discover that, in actual fact, there are circumstances when a price increase may be for the better and there are circumstances when price reduction may be for the worse. I will take the liberty of looking back on my personal experience from a period which is recalled by many letter writers, and R.M. Chechetkin from Kazan in particular, a period when, for several years after the war, yet another price reduction was being announced every April. (Yes, they do recall this period, but... they seem to have forgotten the fact that prices used to be increased severalfold beforehand!) So, way back in April 1952, my firstborn fell seriously ill and needed apples. Just a few days previously we had absolutely no problems in buying them from the store next door. The price of apples was reduced from R18 to R13, if I remember correctly. I went out and... yes, you must have, of course, already guessed: There were no apples to be found in a single store in Moscow! On that same day the price of apples jumped severalfold on the market. This put them beyond the reach of a young man like me, and this entire story provided my first lesson in economics.

Could it be that fixed stable prices are the best of all?

I still remember L. Romanenko's statement among other remarks published under the rubric "Passions Over Prices" by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (Issue No 40). Stability of prices, "understood by each and every one not in an abstract but in a specific fashion," the remark claimed, is a "substantial advantage and law of socialism." Yes, and this is actually written down in virtually every textbook on economics.

Surely there could be no objections to that? What a boon when you know the price you will pay tomorrow or the day after for bread, butter, milk, meat, groats, pans, socks, suits, cups, spoons.... Provided, of course, you are certain of being able to find all these in the store. And if you don't find them? "We are buying more than we need because we have no guarantees that we will be able to buy these things tomorrow," T.A. Zinina (Kremenchug) writes....

If you don't find them, then the boon turns into an evil, a terrible evil which deforms our entire life. And the name of this evil is **shortages.** That is the core of the problem. So much has been said and written recently about its demoralizing and destructive consequences—theft, bribery, speculation, protectionism, bureaucratic elitism, erosion of moral criteria—that there is perhaps no point in repeating it all.

What, in actual fact, is the cause of this general anxiety, shared by those who are for an increase, against an increase, for fixed or any other prices? What is it we all want? Why did the question of price reforms arise at all?

Muscovite Yu.V. Primakov and Sevastopol resident A.A. Shakin are convinced: The increase of meat prices is proposed for the sake of making good the deficiencies caused in the state budget by the reduction of sales of

alcoholic beverages. Leningrader S.V. Kuzmin, on the basis of that very same logic, recommends that the difficulties which have developed be resolved by higher taxation of the population.

Others believe the main point of the intended price reform is to eliminate subsidies for agriculture. An important problem, indeed. But once again, let's discuss it calmly. In principle, subsidies for agriculture and, generally speaking, for any other laggard sector or production unit, as well as for those just coming into being and are not yet firmly on their feet, are a normal phenomenon despite what the letter writers believe. There is another question: Who is to pay for them? The state. But we are the state: Money does not materialize out of thin air. To put it briefly, this is why we are paying taxes and buying so many industrial goods at inflated prices. Furthermore, our own work is underpaid.

Subsidies are used all over the world. But nowhere else is there such an absurd **gap** between high purchasing prices and low retail prices, to be bridged by subsidies. Let me mention another discrepancy: Part of the meat in the country is sold at low state prices (and there are acute shortages regarding this part of the supply), and all the rest is sold at high market or cooperative prices.

Price differences create social tension. This is reflected in the content and tone of many letters. S. Fomenko from Nikolayev is perplexed: "It is said that meat ought to cost R4. We in Nikolayev still can't understand: Does this mean meat is sold somewhere at a different price? True enough, those in the know claim meat can be found in the city even at R1.90, but that is available only for officials of leadership organizations. We would have no objections if meat were sold to them at R4-5, and let the cheap meat be supplied to war veterans and invalids, low-paid categories of the population, and large families." At first glance, Comrade Fomenko puts it boldly. Unfortunately, however, he fails to ask: Is there any need at all to have "cheap meat" and "expensive meat," especially when the gap between them is so large and it cannot fail to act as a breeding ground for the speculation and scandalous deals which are widely reported in the press nowadays?

So Who Are the Speculators? [subhead]

Readers' attention was drawn by the story of the can of ground ham reported by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 30 September 1987. Let me remind you that this can was stamped with the state price and the name of one of the Belorussian Gosagroprom's enterprises, but a consumer cooperative was selling it at double the price.

The editorial office asked: "Who Are the Speculators?" Replies came in their hundreds. Readers report similar instances in other cities, ask that the matter is not laid to rest there, even call for help by prosecutors (let me mention the letters from O.V. Pomogaylo from Riga, Honored RSFSR Jurist F. Goncharuk from Leningrad, S.A. Martynova from Penza, Yu.G. Repin from Kiev, N. Pavlova from Mozhaysk, I.V. Navrotskiy from Kharkov, A.I. Tsuryupa from Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, and others—from all over the country...).

In an official reply, A.G. Yashin, deputy chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz Board, attributes the occurrence to "serious shortcomings in the organization of cooperative trade" (what exactly?!) and also to... "the fact that purchasers are insufficiently well informed of the specific nature of procurement operations by the consumer cooperative and the nature of its mutual relationship with the USSR Gosagroprom." Comrade Yashik elucidates: "In conformity with the 20 March 1986 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution 'On the Further Improvement of the Economic Management Mechanism in the Country's Agro-Industrial Complex' it is planned to expand the sale of meat and meat products at cooperative trade prices. Enterprises under the USSR Gosagroprom were recruited for this purpose. They process part of the meat purchased from the population by consumer cooperatives or by kolkhozes or sovkhozes at contract prices and included in the total volume of state resources. This output is supplied to the consumer cooperative trade network and is sold at cooperative trade prices." This is the story according to the Tsentrosoyuz Board.

But this explanation is inaccurate in at least two respects. The first sentence gives the impression that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers apparently set the task to expand **sales** at cooperative prices, but this is not what the document says: It only says that "starting in 1986, livestock and poultry reared under contract on citizens' personal subsidiary farms will be purchased by consumer cooperative organizations either directly or through kolkhozes and sovkhozes and will be sold at cooperative retail prices chiefly to satisfy the local population of cities and industrial and rayon centers." It also goes on to say it is necessary "to ensure that consumer cooperative farms and organizations develop capacities for the storage and processing of agricultural products to ensure more stable supplies for their consumers." Here is a fitting task for consumer cooperatives! Purchase, process, trade! The document that was published in the press does not make any provision at all for the dubious operations reported by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

There is an even less credible explanation why the Tsentrosoyuz is engaged in trade with imported canned food. "The essence of this exchange," Comrade Yashin writes, "is that livestock bought from the population at contract prices is delivered to state resources at the place of purchase, while meat products are allocated to consumer cooperative organizations at the place of sale." This apparently means: A cow is purchased and delivered in Brest and, in exchange, a cooperative in Moscow receives Chinese canned food. But how is this to be

reconciled with the aforementioned paragraph of the resolution to the effect that products purchased by the cooperative **"will be sold chiefly to satisfy the local population?!"**

Here is something else: How could even Sherlock Holmes or Major Tomin from "The Experts" television series tell whether the cans of pork stew sold by the cooperative store were procured by this strange method or simply "borrowed" from the director of the neighboring food store, with the income also split "according to contract?"

Stability and Fairness [subhead]

It was not always that our country suffered from shortages. In 1948-1949, following the abolition of ration cards and the monetary reform, there was equilibrium in the trade with meat in cities, and I recall the variety of sausage products being unimaginable by today's criteria; in the early sixties trade workers screamed about overstocking with—what do you think?—butter.... What do statistics have to say about it? In 1980 the country produced 848,000 tonnes of butter, and in 1986 it produced 1.7 million tonnes of it—as much as the United States, the FRG, and France together! Yet the shortage of butter is one of the most acute here. Even our meat production is, in actual fact, not all that small—perfectly comparable with many other developed countries, and twice or even three times more per capita than in Japan or the PRC. As for milk, also in per capita terms, we are far ahead of even the United States, Italy, Britain, and Hungary. Generally speaking, I would run the risk of becoming the target of yet another salvo of criticism by declaring: On the whole, in the last few years our agriculture has been one of the most steadily growing sectors of the Soviet economy. Steadily but, unfortunately, by no means as swiftly as it may be necessary to ensure that production at least keeps pace with the fast growing demand—and this is the key to the paradoxes which I have cited.

This is the truth, but not the whole truth.

There is a law, whereby the very first disruptions in sales of various products produce a chain reaction—the population rushes in to buy these products and stock up. The shortages increase as a result. Yet shortages could be prevented at the stage of inception if flexible prices were used to balance supply and demand—at the level which is backed up by actual volume of production at any given time. But the principle of price stability failed to resolve this in the past. This principle is very important. But stable prices can operate only when the state is in a position to meet the population's demand with all its fluctuations at any given time and in any given place. To achieve this it must have production capacity reserves, stocks of foodstuffs, foreign currency resources for purchases abroad, and so on. This was never taken into account in our country.

The result: Because of chronic shortages, the wonderful principle of price stability unfortunately led to the violation of another principle—the principle of social justice—which is of the greatest importance for socialism. Nowadays those who consume more foodstuffs at state prices (with access of "special supplies" or, as S.A. Martynov from Penza puts it, live in a "privileged" city, or have connections with the trade network, and so on) enjoy a monetary supplement of R2-3 for every kilogram consumed. Complaints about those people's prosperity are made by others who can obtain meat only at cooperative or market prices. The ruble is no longer the standard yardstick of labor and consumption: It has different purchasing power in the hands of different people. This damages the population's moral health. Shortages kill incentives for labor and earnings: If you have the **right** to buy a commodity (in other words you have the money to do so) but have no **opportunity** to buy it, why strive? Shortages also ruin physical health: Those who produce and sell foodstuffs have no reasons to worry about quality.

There can be only one conclusion from all that has been said: An end must be put to shortages come what may, at any cost! Our national economy's consumption sphere must be brought to equilibrium. Unless this is achieved, the country's further development and the future of socialism become questionable.

In the Quest for Ways Out [subhead]

Science claims: One of only two methods can be used to get out of the prevailing situation—either to expand the supply of commodities (by either increasing production or purchasing imports) or to reduce demand which, in its own turn, can be achieved by either reducing the population's incomes or increasing prices. There is, as people say, no other alternative.

It is easy to understand that the readers whose letters I stacked on the right-hand side are entirely in favor of the first method. They are, of course, right—in principle. They are right when making suggestions as to how to expand the output of agricultural products and raise labor productivity in the agro-industrial complex.

Indeed, prices should not be used to cover up economic mismanagement or poor labor productivity, as war veteran P.S. Ananyin from Charentsavan in the Armenian SSR correctly warns. Even so, let me repeat: The core of today's problem lies neither in the prime costs of meat production nor in the subsidies, no matter how important these phenomena may be, it lies in the shortages.

Those who are against price increases make essentially the following suggestion: Let us wait for as many years as it may be necessary, sooner or later the output of agricultural products will reach a size when shortages will automatically disappear.

Sooner or later.... What do we do meanwhile, continue to let thieves and speculators, the kings of crime and underground millionaires, grow fat on the shortages? What do we do meanwhile, continue to organize expeditions on "meat" trains to the capital? What do we do meanwhile, continue to wait in line and throw thousands of tonnes of foodstuffs on the rubbish dump?

When an illness has progressed so far and is, furthermore, driven deep inside, it can only be cured by surgery.

But maybe there are some other suggestions? Yes, there are. Romanov (who did not give his first name) from Barnaul, I.I. Gudim from Tallinn, and T.A. Zinina from Kremenchug are convinced that it would make sense to re-introduce ration cards for meat, dairy, and other products in short supply. They refer to the fact that all sorts of coupons exists semi-legally even now in many cities in the country. In this way, they say, everyone will receive his allotted portion, less will stick to the greasy palms of speculators, and there will be less inequality in consumption.

But historical experience teaches us that—extraordinary circumstances apart—enforced rationing does not offer a way out, either. Unfortunately, ration cards are no guarantee against speculation: Coupons or cards can be bought, officials dealing with their distribution could commit abuses, and so on. Furthermore, people in possession of ration cards strive to purchase foodstuffs even when they are not needed, and this also leads to waste.

So, back to prices. Let the already suggested one-shot price review—if everybody decides to accept it—be the last such painful surgical measure. Let our stores finally acquire the normal appearance befitting a civilized state, let the lines disappear, and let the speculators cease gaining benefits from doing the state trade network's work by supplying commodities to consumers.... Would this mean that the task is resolved?

Unfortunately, things are not as simple as all that. Let us assume the price review will be so successful as to establish equilibrium: Neither shortages on the one hand, nor overstocking on the other. But will this last?

Reader N. Nedorezov from Tomsk predicts: "The time will come when we will again start talking about further price increases and substantiating this in economic terms." Nobody would like to see him proved right. But where are the guarantees that shortages, once thrown out of the door, will not re-enter by the window, as it has already happened in our past?

No such guarantees exist today. This is precisely why I wrote at the very beginning that, in the prevailing economic conditions, price increases cannot produce positive results. What are the conditions I have in mind?

First. The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum cited figures: In the period between 1971 and 1985 alone, the total amount of money in circulation increased 3.1 times while consumer goods production doubled. The country's population found itself with a colossal surplus of funds in its hands. Furthermore, as a result of redistribution processes (and largely due to the "black" or "second" economy) these funds became concentrated in the hands of a very tiny proportion of the population mainly living on unearned or dishonestly earned incomes, as lecturer K.A. Khubiyev (Moscow) notes for example. These people are capable of creating shortages of whatever commodity they like, whenever they like: They have accumulated and control such large amounts that they are in a position to buy up any commodity offered on the market at virtually any price. Work it out: Just the interest on deposits held in savings banks today can enable the population to buy up the Volga Motor Vehicles Plant's annual output at once. Just the interest!

Second. Powerful social groups exist today which are directly interested in maintaining shortages. Under the current trade and consumer services system, shortages are advantageous for workers in this sphere and feed them far better than even the most cleverly designed labor remuneration and material incentives systems. Some of them—if they themselves cannot consume the stocks—will let them rot, will start screaming about "overstocking," and will refuse to accept deliveries from suppliers. This is why shortages cannot be overcome by any slogans, guideline instructions, or the institution of mandatory "minimum range requirements." Muscovites still remember events in September of last year, when it took extraordinary measures and numerous television programs and much press material to force workers in Moscow's agro-industrial complex and state trade network—and this at the period of massive deliveries—to do no more than trade normally in fruit and vegetables.

Third. The existing price system is not just inflexible (even if prices are changed, this is done simultaneously and on a mandatory basis with the increases measured in "times" or tens of percentage points, rather than in single percentage points like everywhere else in the world). What is even more important is the fact that this system is not based on the laws of commodity demand and supply. Or, to be more precise, it ignores these laws in principle. Such a system is inherently incapable of ensuring equilibrium in the consumption sphere which is inevitably subject to constant fluctuations in both demand (changing tastes, fashions, and people's habits) and supply (this is especially typical of agricultural products, even if for no other reason but climatic conditions). This means that, under such a price system, we have absolutely no guarantee that the present situation will not recur at some point in the future.

Conclusion: **It is necessary to change the economic conditions and eliminate these three obstacles before raising the question of price increases on a practical footing.**

Haste can only bring failure and this, as we all know, has already happened before. The party is raising the question of glasnost in the preparation of price reform. There must be no secrets, no surprise "announcement of price increases," in the same way as there must be no secret price hikes like the Gosagroprom's deal with the Tsentrosoyuz. Everyone must be involved in preparation, discussions, and conscious decisionmaking when it comes to price reform. So, let us discuss how to change the depicted economic conditions which have become obstacles in this reform's way. Here I am forced to provide just a brief outline, since our readers' letters do not offer sufficient material for conclusions. I will just offer as food for thought a few ideas—partly prompted by readers, partly the result of scientific elaborations.

A Program Is Suggested [subhead]

The program of preparations for price reform must evidently cover several stages. First of all, it is necessary to implement a radical reform of savings according to the principle of one man-one account in the USSR Savings Bank. This should be announced in advance, approximately 6 months beforehand. It can, of course, be assumed that some depositors from among those who have good reasons for not advertising their deposits, now spread over a multiplicity of savings accounts, would withdraw them.

This could be followed by a monetary reform (or rather an exchange of bank notes since a reform would also mean changing the scale of prices). Pensioner Sizov (Moscow) makes the following practical suggestion: "Amounts not in excess of R10,000 should be exchanged unconditionally, and any sums above that amount should be exchanged subject to submission of proof that they were earned through a family's honest labor. An audit of some citizens' real property should be carried out." He explains: "We are not talking about people who deserve the dachas, cars, and so on in recognition of their scientific labor or other services to the motherland. They deserve everything. As for all the other rogues, they must be dekulakized in the full sense of the word and all the proceeds handed over to the Soviet Children's Fund." It is up to you to agree or disagree with the base figure suggested by Comrade Sizov and even with his actual suggestion. But it would evidently not be amiss to think it over. A reduction of the surplus amount of monetary funds would help to overcome the first of the aforementioned barriers.

To continue. Readers' letters, including the ones already mentioned, contain many complaints about the trade network's work. This is almost the most painful spot of restructuring. Now it is already clear that last year's hastily adopted measures to change the trade network's economic mechanism have produced virtually nothing.

What is the way out of this situation? Without going into details, I perceive just one single way out: **The trade network must trade** rather than distributing, supplying, and doing favors to us purchasers. Nobody should believe the frequently published statements by leaders of this department claiming it supposedly represents and even upholds our interests in dealing with the production sector—it has its own interests which, as a rule, differ from ours.

Trade enterprises must purchase commodities with their "own money," at their own responsibility and their own risk, from wholesale organizations, industry, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and maybe even foreign firms (by exchanging commodities with them). To purchase them and **resell** them to us, paying taxes to the state and rent for any premises occupied out of their earnings, while anything that is left over is allocated for payments of wages, premiums, expenditure for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes, and further expansion of operations. This will create rigorous conditions for store workers: If you want to earn more—sell more; should you be tempted to steal, your neighbor will grab you by the hand because you would be stealing neither from the state nor from the customer, but from him! A store's work should not be assessed in terms of plan fulfillment, since the plan could take any form provided there are good relations with those who actually set the plan. What would be the point of assessing? It is good if you spend R1 and earn R2, but it is even better if you could earn R3! Higher ranking organizations and the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department would have fewer duties to perform, and actual cutbacks of staff numbers could be made.

The state trade network must be deprived of its monopoly status which corrupts it. In actual fact, this is already being done: Cooperative forms and individual labor activity are spreading, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are gaining broader rights in the sphere of marketing their products. Competition for purchasers rather than for indicators, as publicist O. Latsis aptly puts it, is a powerful driving force for all trade activities.

So what will this do to prices? We need a new concept and system of price formation based not on the cost method but on consideration for demand and supply. Moreover, trade enterprises, insofar as they operate on their own responsibility and their own risk, must have the right to increase or reduce prices depending on market conditions (according to rules to be laid down by the state and with the exception of a limited range of mandatorily stable prices).

Will prices not start rising without any restraint in such conditions? When there are no shortages, prices will level off. Here is a letter from Professor of Political Economy A. Nagy writing from Hungary, where a similar system has been in operation for a long time now: "Many of your readers are against price increases, fearing that if state prices were to rise, cooperative prices would go sky-high.... But there is no such law. Visitors to our capital usually go to the central market on Marshal Tolbukhin Street. There they can see for themselves that,

as a rule, prices at cooperative stalls are lower than state prices. The most expensive fruit and vegetables are sold by private traders, but their goods are the best."

Engineer Ye.A. Krasnyy also reflects on what would happen after the price increases. He suggests that, in parallel with the price reform, we adopt a **program for price reductions** by a certain percentage per annum and demand its unconditional fulfillment by departments. This deserves attention.

The letters widely discuss the question of compensations in the event of possible price increases. After all, price increases should not reduce the population's living standards.

Scientific institutions, including the Central Economic-Mathematical Institute where I work, have been studying this question for many years now. Sound theoretical headway has been made. Economic-mathematical models and computers have been used to analyze various options, which basically boil down to three: Reduction of prices for some industrial goods, abolition or reduction of income tax on wages, and compensation supplements to wages, pensions, and grants. There are also mixed options. One of the particular concerns is how to guarantee that low-income population groups would not suffer.

I have no intention of passing judgment on all these options, but I personally feel the most effective one and the one to be most easily understood by everyone would be a standard supplement to wages, salaries, pensions, and grants which would be boosted—and this is very important—by equal payments to families for every child age, say, between 1 and 17, in other words until the child completes his or her mandatory secondary education and begins working.

I have no doubts: Such a supplement would be positively welcomed by those who would otherwise inevitably suffer as a result of price increases—families with children, especially large families. Subsequently, by the way, these payments would provide a starting point for shaping a modern system of family benefits which already exist in many socialist and capitalist countries. As the state accumulates more funds, the amount of benefits could be increased.

Reader P.L. Shkolnikov (Minsk) correctly deems it necessary to analyze not only the positive but also the negative consequences of any possible price increases, even subject to compensation. Even if average living standards were not to decline, would there still be strata which would suffer as a result of such measures? I think there would be. Those who today have access to "cheap" products would find themselves in a less advantageous position, those who are still forced to buy "expensive" products would find themselves in a more advantageous position. Major damage will be suffered by speculators who would find themselves without a "job" and by thieves from food stores (if the stores are full, fewer bargain hunters would run the risk of buying stolen goods). But do they deserve our pity?...

So, what are the conclusions? An analysis of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA'S mail shows that emotions are a poor assistant in the solution of such a complex problem. Any one-track approach would lead us away from the goal. It is premature to sum up the results of the discussion on prices.

It is actually only just beginning.

Agricultural

Equipment Supply 'Behind' Schedule

LD230001 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] A session of the All-Union Operational Headquarters for Material and Technical Supply of the Countryside is being held today at the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. Measures needed for the acceleration of preparation of equipment for spring and for harvesting work are being discussed. It was noted that in some oblasts and republics a very intense situation has developed; the overhaul of sowing and soil-working machinery is particularly behind on farms in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, although sowing usually starts earlier there than in other regions of the country. In the country as a whole, hundreds of thousands of tractors and trucks await overhaul on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Fewer grain combines are ready than last year; the rate of overhaul of harvesting machinery is slow in the Ukraine and in all Central Asian Republics. The preparation of machinery for fodder harvesting is proceeding very slowly.

The headquarters paid particular attention to speeding up the supply of spare parts and components by enterprises under the Ministries of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building and of the Automotive and Chemical Industries. The headquarters demanded that the shortfall for 1987 in tractors and machinery for livestock raising and fodder production be made good.

The enterprises that are chronically behind still include Avtodizel, the Ne k Fuel Equipment Works, Gomselmash, Kurgan, T and certain other works. A great deal of machinery for the countryside has accumulated at many enterprises because of a shortage of wagons. For example, 4,500 motor vehicles in Gorkiy, 1,652 trailers in Stavropol and Dzhambul, 600 spring sowing machines in Bobryusk, 1,500 tractors in Minsk.

Scientific

Pokrovskiy on Need for Glasnost in Science

PM261015 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Pokrovskiy under the "Frank Conversation" rubric: "But the Truth Is More Precious..."]

[Text] I was prompted to initiate this conversation by the following opinion from PRAVDA reader and construction worker M. Kutsev, on the role of science in our society: "The 'struggle for an idea' without guarantees of democratic glasnost frequently turns into the imposition on society of phony assertions by keeping the facts quiet. Of course, hydraulic technicians are best acquainted with, for instance, methods of diverting rivers. But the question of whether a river should be diverted is a complex problem that can be dealt with only by the broad public, including specialists of various kinds."

Indeed the misfortunes of Lake Baykal and the Caspian Sea, the Chernobyl tragedy, the tangle of energy problems, the backsliding in machine building and electronics graphically attest to the fact that the modern scientist's activity cannot be restricted to the closed little world of even the most advanced laboratory. Major scientific achievements now influence the lives of millions of people and the nature of entire continents and sometimes promise unpredictable consequences. The words written by F. Engels a little over 100 years ago sound truly prophetic today: "But we will not flatter ourselves unduly with our victories over nature. It will revenge itself against us for each such victory. It is true that each of these victories has primarily the results on which we were counting, but second and third, it has completely different and unpredicted results, which very often destroy the significance of the first results."

Yes, of course, what is required above all of the modern scientist is a high standard of competence in his field of knowledge. There are may such specialists in our country. We are rightly proud of their successes in the field of mathematics and cosmonautics, physics and medicine. However, it is also unfortunately true that the USSR Academy of Sciences presidium, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and the leaders of sectorial and VUZ science do not always succeed in organizing their work on a single front in the priority directions that are decisive for the country's development. Vestiges of the stagnation period, when it was group interests, temporary interests, ambitions, and petty little passions, as they say, and not the people's destiny that was put foremost, are still strong here.

"We have more than enough stagnation phenomena and conservatism," Academician P. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, bears out. "Cadres are being restructured only slowly, and some believe there is no demand at all for them to be restructured; they are already operating well." An entirely specific conclusion follows from this: The restructuring now under way in the country affects not only the activity of whole scientific institutions but also the style of work of every scientist, above all his ability to feel and respond to the demands of society and to fit his scientific developments into the overall gait of scientific-technical and social progress.

The first role here, of course, belongs to the USSR Academy of Sciences, our most authoritative scientific organization. Here is what the Leningrad Professor B. Belyayev wrote to the editorial office on this score: "The Academy of Sciences is a large and complex organism. The influence of the atmosphere within it on all science is very great, and it sets the tone for departmental and VUZ science. It is very important that this atmosphere should be pure, that the academy, like Caesar's wife, should be above suspicion. Of course, this organization is quite unable to protect itself against manifestations of, to put it mildly, certain deviations from the norms of lofty morality. But how the academy reacts to such phenomena is important."

What can be a guarantee in this case? The provision elaborated by the party, that we cannot make further headway except through the democratization of our life, applies directly to science, as it does to other aspects of our life. Of course, here it is not a case of the public discussion of the organization of a specific experiment or the progress of a theoretical development. But the academy's notorious aloofness should be destroyed in the course of restructuring.

The recent elections to the USSR Academy of Sciences were in many ways a touchstone here. For the first time in recent decades, perhaps the discussion of some candidacies spilled over into the press. It would seem that there was nothing bad in the broader discussion of the services rendered to science and society by future corresponding members and full members of the academy.

It was here that the strength of inertia made itself felt. The newspaper and journal editorial offices began to receive, and are still receiving, objections to items of this kind from individual academy members, who saw in this interference in the internal affairs of that institution and almost an insult to it. It seems to us that a fair assessment of the situation was given in the letter from Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Zharinov: "For the real restructuring of the Academy of Sciences, it is necessary above all to resolve the problem of its human factor. The Academy of Sciences is made up of people with an exclusively scientific vocation. Group and caste interests, manifestations of the conservatism of 'those who have it all,' and the desire to bring pressure to bear on a rival are the main obstacles on the path of its development. The public interest is affected here, yet the public has really been standing aside from the questions touched on."

What can we add? It has frequently been written and said that in a number of fields of knowledge in our country, monopoly scientific groups have formed, which are impeding the printed and published works of the "scientifically unorthodox." But has there been mention in recent years of many fruitful scientific discussions in which the opinions of scientific adversaries were listened to and assessed with respect and interest? On the other hand, our readers cite many examples of caste aloofness.

Thus Candidate of Sciences A. Kochnev reports that back in April 1986 some 28 academicians and corresponding members were sent the monograph "Basic Principles of Multipolarity," published by Irkutsk University, for their comments. No response was received from any of them. One may add that for several months now, the responses from a group of readers of our newspaper to an article in PRAVDA on 22 June last year by a group of academicians under the heading "There Was No Miracle" have been lying unanswered in the USSR Academy of Sciences presidium....

Manifestations of scientific "deafness" are particularly marked in departmental institutes, which reject "alien" ideas and push through what may be worse but is their own. So they sometimes pay hard currency for items created on the basis of Soviet specialists' technical suggestions.

It is obviously not for nothing that proposals on the creation of an ideas bank in one form or another are appearing more frequently in the editorial mail. In particular B. Seredin, a central design bureau from Obninsk City, believes that the search for like-minded people requires substantial efforts and a large amount of time, and their pooling in creative collectives is virtually impossible given the existing situation. At the same time, if the ideas and hypotheses bank existed, and if there were an organization which collected and systematized these ideas and published them in an anthological bulletin, it would be easier to decide questions of the authorship, value, and informativeness of scientific works and of the joining together of their authors for swifter, more productive solving of tasks. He explains bitterly what gave rise to his proposals: "In the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries, and in scientific institutes, the opinion has been established that a discovery is the prerogative of academicians and corresponding members and that it is not for an engineer to make a discovery."

Scientists' role is greater and more responsible than ever in our rapidly developing world. Millions of people heed their opinion. That opinion should be based only on the uncompromising search for the truth: the truth in the interests of the development of science and society.

Activities of 'Mir' Cosmonauts Reported

Semiconductor Experiments

LD220351 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Our first item today is about some of the experiments being conducted aboard the Mir orbital station. The present crew of the station, Commander Vladimir Titov and Flight Engineer Musa Manarov, are now in the 2d month of what's expected to be a lengthy mission. Directly on board the station they took over the research program of the previous crew whose commander, Yuriy Romanenko, established a new space endurance record—326 days in orbit. This research program covers many areas and one of its important sections is concerned with materials processing. To tell us about this work, here's our science correspondent, Boris Belitskiy.

[Begin Belitskiy recording] The biggest and most advanced installation used in this research is called Korund. It's a refinement of previous installations of this type, Kristall, Splav, and Magma (?F), which were likewise used to prepare materials that it's very expensive, if at all possible, to make on the ground. Korund, however, differs from its precedessors. Not only is it larger, it has a mass of 136 kilograms, but it has greater capabilities. It is, in fact, not just a research installation, but a pilot plant. In it Soviet cosmonauts have already produced single crystals of such semiconducting materials as cadmium selenite and indium antimonide that have been used in electronic devices.

Specimens prepared in the Korund installation have been put through thorough tests on the ground and these have shown that the crystals obtained have properties close to those anticipated. Accordingly, it was decided to continue their preparation in a slightly modernized Korund installation. This modernization had the specific purpose of turning this research installation into more of a pilot plant, making it possible to refine the basic technologies involved. Such technologies are envisaged for the preparation of various materials.

Let's listen in to a recent communication between the Mir crew and specialists at mission control.

[Begin Titov recording in Russian] The process on Korund is going normally. We have already reached 300 degress. The heat is continuing to rise. [end recording]

What you heard was an exchange of technical information about an ongoing experiment. Vladimir Titov reported that the process in the Korund installation was proceeding normally, the temperature had reached 300 degrees and continued to rise. Mission control, on receiving this report, told the crew that during the next circuit of the earth, the heating should be stopped.

The cosmonauts are now assisted in their materials processing work by electronics. A mini-computer, built into the Korund unit makes possible research in the automatic mode. Both the profile of the thermal field and the rate of movement of the sample containing ampules can be regulated and the temperature can be maintained within a range from 20 to 1,270 degrees with an accuracy down to half of one degree. The experiments last from 6 to 150 hours.

And one more figure. Korund can produce up to a kilogram of semi-conductors at a time and it can make them without supervision. All that's necessary is to put

the ampules in a special drum which then begins rotating according to the program drawn up for it. It automatically introduces the ampules into appropriate thermal zones. All that remains for the operator is to collect the harvest and insert new ampules instead.

These are features of future industrial production in space. What's more, the materials produced in this way are needed on earth not in tons, but in kilograms. Nevertheless, their use in microelectronics, infra-red and laser technology, can give an appreciable impetus to technical progress. [end recording]

Astrophysical Experiments

LD221356 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 22 (TASS)—The orbital scientific and research complex Mir, manned by Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, is continuing its flight.

In the past two days, the crew carried out a series of astrophysical experiments with the use of Roentgen orbital observatory and telescope Glazar, which registers the emission in the ultraviolet sector of the spectrum. The objects of the research were the supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud and separate areas of the constellations Ursa Minor and Carina.

With the help of Maria equipment, measurements were continued of the streams of high-energy electrons and positrons in the near earth space.

In accordance with the medical research plan, the cosmonauts held yesterday a "sports" experiment to determine the optimum regimes of physical exercises—one of the more effective ways of preventing the unfavourable impact of zero gravity on man's body.

The crew will carry out today a number of medical, biological and biochemical experiments.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel well.

The flight of the Mir manned complex is continuing normally.

Progress Summarized

LD261130 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—By the TASS correspondent at the Ground Control Center:

Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are working aboard the Soviet space platform Mir for the 35th day Tuesday.

They have begun to unload the unmanned spacecraft Progress-34 and are continuing astrophysics and geophysics studies and technological and medico-biological experiments.

The crew have conducted 25 series of observations using the orbiting observatory Roentgen and obtained new information about the evolving spectrum of radiation from the supernova in the large Magellanic Cloud.

According to optical readings taken from earth, radiation flows from a double star system in the southern hemisphere, which includes an X-ray pulsar, have sharply increased. So today and in the next few days the telescopes of the international observatory Roentgen will be trained on that unique heavenly object.

In keeping with a program for space materials studies, the cosmonauts have completed another series of experiments to master methods of applying electroplating anti-corrosion coatings in zero gravity.

According to telemetry data and reports from orbit, the flight of the research platform Mir is proceeding normally.

Titov and Manarov are feeling well.

Academician Explains New 'Twin Image' Radar

LD211619 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Kharkov January 21 TASS—A new radar system developed by scientists in Kharkov, the Ukraine, to sound the surface of earth from space boasts "double vision".

"Space imagery now shows graphically processes taking place simultaneously high in the atmosphere and on land or in the upper layer of oceans and seas," Academician Viktor Shestopalov said of the pictures obtained with the help of the new system which has been successfully tested on satellites.

One of such images is an optical panorama showing a file of clouds, a mantle of fog and, in the openings between them, the blackspots of mountains, plains and water expanses.

Another, by a radar which can see through dense clouds and twilight, is a detailed picture of a 500-kilometer-wide tract of earth's surface without any blanks.

Shestopalov, director of the Ukrainian Academy of Science's Institute of Radio Physics and Electronics, said in a TASS interview it was the first time in the world that scientists were able to get such "twin images".

The optical and radar pictures in the form of broad strips are positioned on photographic paper side by side and the parallel images processed by computer feature identical geographic coordinates.

The imagery produced in this way can help predict flood, detect subterranean water sources in arid regions, monitor the ripening of crops over vast areas, locate fish shoals in oceans and the best pastures in the mountains, and guide Arctic ships to clear spaces and channels through ice fields.

Soviet Firm Sells Satellite Photographs Abroad

PM221108 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 4

[Interview with V. Yashchenko, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography, by V. Belykh: "A Million Dollars... From Space"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The "Soyuzkarta" foreign trade association of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography has concluded a contract with the Australian geodesy service for space photography of the entire territory of that country.

"It is a fairly risky step at first glance," V. Yashchenko, chief of the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography, says. "The Americans and the French have hitherto held the monopoly in this sphere on the international market. But Soviet scientists have developed a unique camera with a resolution capability of 5 m. For comparison, let me say: The U.S. LANDSAT satellite equipment has a capability of 30 m, and the French SPOT—10 m. What does this mean? For instance, if you photograph a city, on the American photograph you will be able to distinguish the general plan and individual large buildings; on the French photograph, nearly all the buildings and streets; and on ours, the sidestreets and individual cars and tobacco kiosks.

"The result was soon forthcoming: We have been literally swamped with orders from all over the world."

[Belykh] How are orders taken for "space photography" at "Soyuzkarta"?

[Yashchenko] Any foreign institution, firm, or even a private individual can order a "space photograph" from us. The orders are incorporated in the flight program for the next satellite.

[Belykh] And the prices? Are they comparable with those offered by American and French firms? Competition is competition.

[Yashchenko] As yet, we are successfully beating our competitors on the international market. After all, nobody can offer similar photographs. As for the prices, today they are lower than French prices and higher than the Americans'. One color photograph from "Soyuzkarta," with the negative, costs an average of $1,000.

[Belykh] So who are your clients?

[Yashchenko] There are a great many orders from the United States. Photographs of U.S. cities taken from space by a Soviet satellite have appeared on the covers of magazines, matchbox labels, t-shirts, bags.... Because of our inexperience in trading, we "left out" of the contracts the phrase "not for publication," and enterprising businessmen with a few color negatives set up full-scale production.

Our clients now include firms in the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands, and a dozen other countries. The Brazilian National Institute of Coffee asked us to photograph an area of 100,000 square km. When this is done, "Soyuzkarta" will receive $1 million. Argentina has made a similar request. Intermediary services were recently offered by firms in Finland, the United States, France....

[Belykh] In the U.S. press, in particular the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE and THE NEW YORK TIMES, it has been suggested that the Soviet firm's sale of space photographs could promote the disclosure of military secrets....

[Yashchenko] I will make no secret of the fact that there have been attempts at such orders both at state level and under cover of private firms. We therefore offer "space photography" only of the client country's territory.

Briefs

New Space Committee

Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—A Soviet committee of the International Association of Participants in Space Flights (APSF) has been created. Oleg Makarov has been elected its chairman. The association, whose members are cosmonauts and astronauts from 16 countries, has as its aim to unite the efforts of the participants in space flights to promote research into and use of space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of all people. Aleksey Leonov, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR is the co-chairman of the APSF Executive Committee. [Text] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 19 Jan 88 LD*]

Deep-Water Manned Craft

Soviet and Finnish scientists have built the new deep-water manned craft Mir-1 and Mir-2, which can descend to a depth of over 6,000 m. The two craft underwent tests during a 4-month expedition involving the ship Akademik Mstislav Keldysh. Joint Soviet-Finnish crews took Mir-1 to a depth of 6,170 m, and Mir-2 to 6,120 m in the central Atlantic. One of the scientists who designed the vessels claims that they are better than existing craft of a

similar type, one of which is American and the other French. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jan 88 LD*]

Antarctic Icebergs Moved

Soviet scientists have worked out a project of shipping Antarctica's icebergs to the shores of the Arabian peninsula. One of the initiators of the project, Bogomolov, who is an expert of the United Nations, explains that the project envisages a combined use of satellites and tugboats to spot and tow icebergs. Estimates show that the whole operation will continue for several months and will provide a reliable water supply for some countries urgently needing new sources of fresh water for their expanding cities and agriculture. [Text] [*Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 10 Jan 88 LD*]

Antarctic Scientific Team

There has been a change of teams manning the Mirnyy Observatory in the Antarctic. The scientists and specialists who spent a year at the site were taken off by the research vessel Professor Vize, which then headed for Buenos Aires, from where the team will fly home at the end of January. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 100700 LD*]

Military

Lizichev Addresses Army Jubilee Seminar

PM221203 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Time of Strenuous Work"]

[Text] The present period in the Soviet Armed Forces' life is one of practical deeds and strenuous daily work aimed at implementing the ideas of restructuring and achieving real progress in improving the quality of combat and political training and increasing the combat readiness of units and ships. Restructuring has also embraced the entire system of preparing young people for military service and of molding in them the qualities required of the motherland's armed defenders. This was said during the all-union seminar "The USSR Armed Forces—70 Years Guarding Peace and the Gains of Socialism," which ended in Moscow 21 January.

The seminar was addressed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate chief, Admiral of the Fleet G.M. Yegorov, USSR DOSAAF Central Committee chairman, and others.